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APRIL 11, 1986

*n. F. Buckley Jr. asks:*
**HAS REAGAN OTCHED NICARAGUA?**
*—See page 63*

# NATIONAL REVIEW

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Joseph Sobran

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VOL. XXXVIII, NO. 6

# NATIONAL REVIEW

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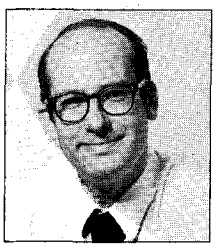
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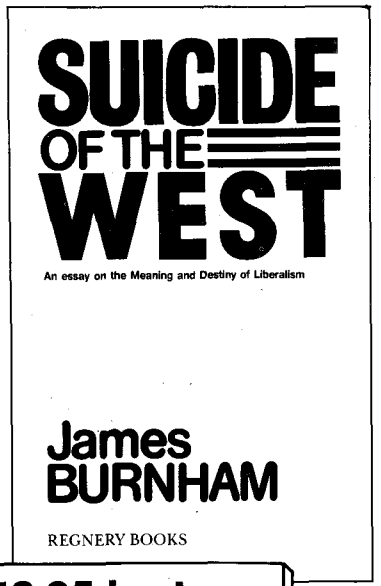


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# LETTERS

## Class Warfare

Charles Murray's article, "White Welfare, White Families, White Trash" [March 28], makes a major point that most of those who study poverty have avoided: The problem of a chronic underclass in America has little to do with race and racism, but rather is a problem of class and behavior. Instead of subsidizing slothfulness, broken homes, and illegitimacy with massive social programs, we should declare class warfare on the irresponsible, present-oriented behavior of the underclass.

*Larry B. Johannsen*
*Fort Lauderdale, Fla.*

## Lamming It Up

I would like to clear up some of the canards raised in K. E. Grubbs's article, "Just Another Wetback" [Feb. 14].

Mr. Grubbs accuses me of being a "crack-brain demagogue." While I have not had a CAT scan recently, I know of no hard evidence to suggest that there are any major structural flaws in my cranium.

More disturbing than his unfounded swipe at the soundness of my anatomy, however, is his characterization of Senator Alan Simpson as "the chief senatorial sponsor of anti-Latino immigration reform." It is a basic right of sovereignty for a nation to control its borders. All Senator Simpson's bill seeks to do is to restore our sovereign right to decide who can come here, how many immigrants we can absorb into our economy, and impose an orderly process for legal immigration. Possibly it takes one to know one, but Mr. Grubbs's rhetoric strikes me as being more than a little demagogic itself.

The most difficult part about responding to this article was deciding which of Mr. Grubbs's inaccuracies to refute—there were far too many to address in a single letter. The most glaring was his misinterpretation of Julian Simon's assertion that "immigration is a sixth of what it was at the turn of the century." In fact, legal immigration is a sixth of what it was relative to the total population of the country. If we are going to talk in relative terms, it might also be worth noting that at the turn of the century this was a relatively empty continent with a relatively uncharted frontier. Today we are a relatively crowded country, and in many places we are relatively short of water and other resources.

Mr. Grubbs also frets that the provision in the immigration-reform bill that would make it illegal to hire undocumented workers would "force employers to become part of the enforcement effort." Does he similarly worry about our child-labor laws? Should we remove the harsh burden we place on employers by making them withhold income taxes and collect sales tax? I think Mr. Grubbs is somewhat vague about the difference between enforcing the law and obeying the law.

Another point of fact. I have never been opposed to admitting legitimate political refugees to this country. I have merely stated that in a world replete with political strife, poverty, and repression, it is unrealistic to believe that we can solve all the world's problems by resettling every unfortunate individual in the United States.

Nevertheless, I was gratified to note that the editors of NATIONAL REVIEW are now offering sanctuary to refugees from the libertarian loony bin at the *Orange County Register.*

*Richard D. Lamm*
*Governor*
*Denver, Colo.*

## Mr. Grubbs Replies

In an otherwise splendid job of editing my piece and boiling it down from the humongous opus it was, the word "proportionately" was dropped. "*Proportionately,*" I had written, ". . . immigration is a sixth of what it was at the turn of the century, the time of our greatest numbers." When I noticed the word was missing in the published version, I first felt that Professor Julian Simon, to whom I had attributed the datum, had been wronged. Next I fully expected some anti-immigration crank to play "Gotcha!"

Governor Lamm richly fulfills my expectation. The issue, of course, is not only the obvious moral one of codifying the Golden Rule as regards aspiring immigrants, but the practical one closely fused to it: How many immigrants can we absorb relative to our population? The answer—as sifted out by Professor Simon, the Urban Institute, and the Rand Corporation—is plenty more. Happily, these people understand the economy to



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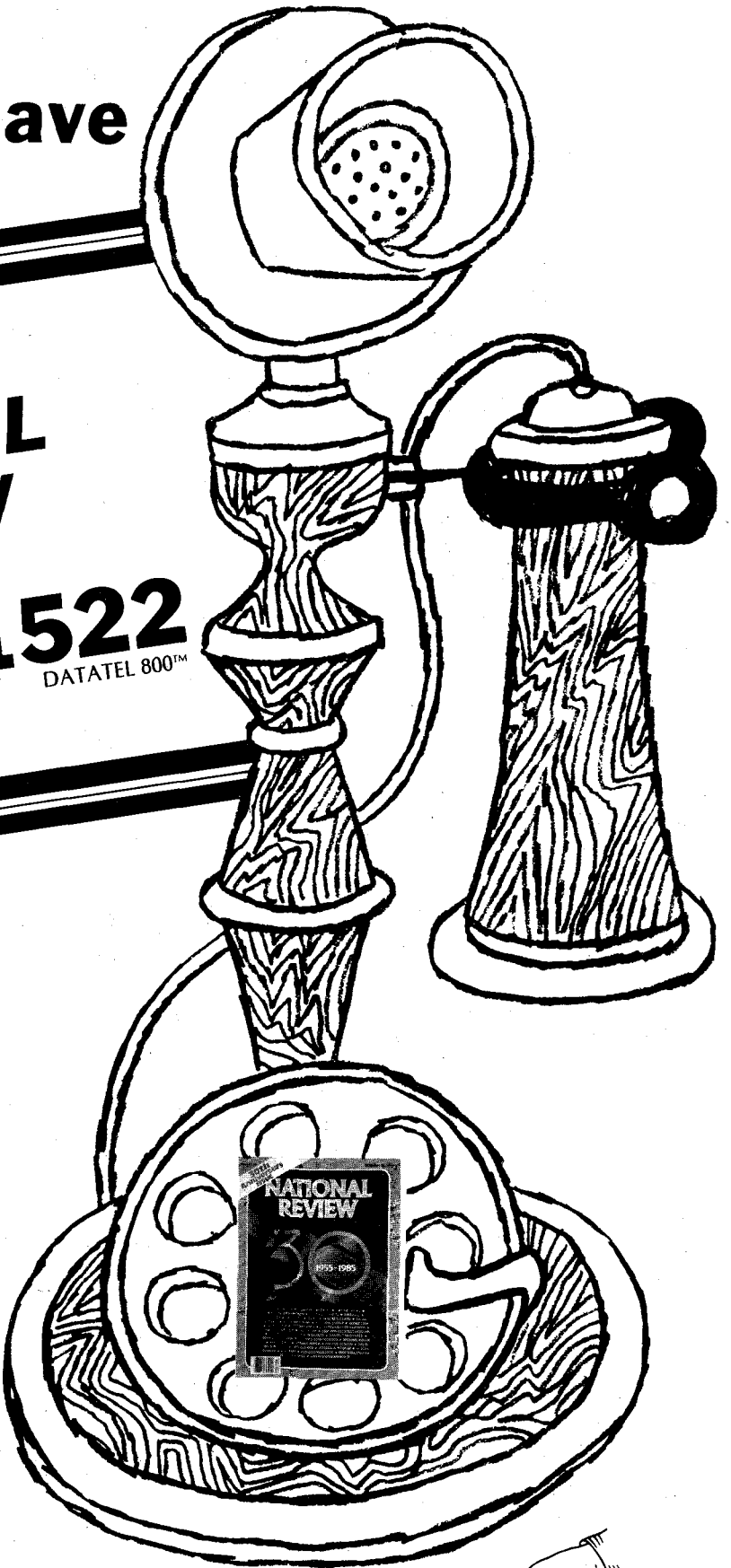


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be a growing thing, not the neo-Malthusian, neo-Ehrlichian fixed pie imagined by Governor Lamm, Professor Huddle, and the other anti-immigrationists who have lately, alas, been touted in *NR*'s pages.

As for the years I spent in joyful employment at the *Orange County Register*, no apologies. The newspaper's editorial views, owing to its apprehension of the constant nature of man, have been ahead of the curve for more than four decades—from the mistreatment of Japanese-Americans to the miseducation promoted by the public schools, from the bankruptcy of Social Security to the tax revolt. The third largest paper in California, planted solidly in Reagan country, the *Register* has won a Pulitzer, and its editors have a healthier understanding of immigration than those attracted to the profoundly anti-life hysteria now pervading the Executive Chambers of the State Capitol in Denver.

*K. E. Grubbs Jr.*
*Washington, D.C.*

### Did He Jump or Was He Putsched?

In the March 14 issue of your excellent magazine, in the piece in "The Week" entitled "Democracy in Haiti?" the following sentence appears: "Hitler and Perón both came to power in elections once upon a time." In defense of historical accuracy, if not of the German people, may I point out that in the election of March 13, 1932, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg won a plurality, but not the necessary majority. Hitler was offered limited power at least once, and finally accepted Hindenburg's invitation to become chancellor on January 30, 1933. There's a little difference.

*Hugh O'Neill*
*New York, N.Y.*

### Lamentable Error

In my last column, "Africa's South" [March 14], lamentably a word was eliminated that changed the entire meaning of a sentence. The last sentence of the second paragraph, third column should read: "Torture is freely used in Zimbabwe, and that country's ambassador in Bonn has declared publicly that it is unavoidable on the road to a one-party state." The word "unavoidable" was left out, creating the impression that the ambassador was saying Zimbabwe is on the road to being a one-party state, which is obvious and not worth mentioning. Instead, he was defending—and therefore admitting—the practice of torture as the means to a "greater end."

*Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn*
*Lans, Tyrol, Austria*



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# FOR THE RECORD

Encouraging Space Shield developments. In less than a week, 1) **Caspar Weinberger** and West German Chancellor **Helmut Kohl** initialed agreement on West German SDI research, to be signed in Washington this week; 2) Italian Prime Minister **Bettino Craxi**, chairman of special committee on the subject, okayed research into SDI technology by private Italian companies; 3) British Foreign Minister Sir **Geoffrey Howe**, formerly a skeptic on Space Shield, says he's concluded that a program dealing with research into a space-based missile defense is "a prudent hedge"; and 4) most important was victory of French conservatives in parliamentary elections. They plan to reverse President **François Mitterrand**'s refusal to associate French government with SDI research. . . . Incidentally, while **Chirac** & Co. did less well than expected, had last week's election been carried out under the old rules, the conservative parties would have landed 350 to 400 seats in National Assembly, not the 277 they actually got, according to **Hélène Riffault**, a voting expert at *Faits et Opinions*, which was one of the few outfits to predict **Jean-Marie Le Pen**'s strength.

On Nicaragua: President's not going to give up on this one, say those who know him best, even though some of them wish he would. According to *Wall Street Journal*, GOP pollster **Richard Wirthlin** is worried that Nicaragua isn't catching on as election-year issue. "The numbers aren't with us on this," he says, "and they aren't changing." Latest poll (ABC News) supports that view: It finds 60 per cent (this was pre **Reagan** speech) of people oppose aid to *Contras*. . . . Says former White House aide and longtime friend of Reagan, **Michael Deaver**: "He has taken on unpopular issues before both as governor and President. . . . In the case of Nicaragua, he has visceral feelings about

Holland, *London Sunday Telegraph* / Rothco

*"At least give me a receipt for my accountant!"*

Communism." . . . Political analyst **Kevin Phillips** agrees: He "has three or four core beliefs and he just keeps acting on them. One is small government. The other is low tax rates. The third is strong defense. And the fourth is this one—standing up to the Communists." . . . Two weeks before Reagan mentioned poll showing support in Central America for Administration position on Nicaragua, Rep. **Robert Livingston** (R., La.) had spelled it out on House floor. A Gallup-affiliated poll in Costa Rica, he said, showed 69 per cent in Costa Rica favoring RR's *Contra* policy, 55 per cent in Honduras, 54 in Guatemala, and 52 in El Salvador.

Who will head presidential tickets in 1988? *Newsweek* asked state governors and got their answer: **George Bush** and **Mario Cuomo**. In polls on Republicans, at moment, Bush is definitely front-runner, with 43 per cent of vote, ahead of **Jerry Ford**, 13; **Howard Baker**, 12; **Bob Dole**, 10; **Jack Kemp**, 8 (ABC/*Washington Post*). But on Democratic side, it's **Gary Hart** first with healthy 44 per cent, to 22 for Cuomo, 18 for **Lee Iacocca**, 16 for **Jesse Jackson**. . . . A former director of the Democratic National Committee, **Terry O'Connell**, is out there now setting up a Lee Iacocca Campaign Committee should Iacocca become a serious candidate. . . . Among dark-horse possibilities, Sen. **Joseph Biden** (D., Del.) is enlisting help of **Jimmy Carter** pollster **Pat Caddell** and experienced Democratic campaign manager **David Doak** for possible run. Doak managed winning campaigns of Virginia Govs. **Gerald Baliles** and **Charles Robb** and Texas Gov. **Mark White**. . . . On Republican side, *Conservative Digest* poll of its readers has, as expected, **Jack Kemp** in front with 26 per cent, but next to him evangelist **Pat Robertson**. . . . While polls show swing voters drifting back toward Democratic Party this off presidential year, ideologically the battle is being won. Recent **Harris** poll shows for first time since 1968 that more Americans call themselves conservatives (40 per cent) than moderates (38 per cent). Liberals come limping in with 18 per cent ID.

Of interest to Right: According to *Human Events*, **Bill Gavin**, a conservative stalwart and Special Assistant to House Minority Leader **Robert Michel**, under consideration as VOA Director. Another possibility (also pleasing), former UN ambassador **Chuck Lichenstein** (he who would have enjoyed waving good-bye to the UN as it put out to sea). . . . **Leslie Lenkowsky**, who failed to win confirmation as Deputy Director of USIA a couple of years back, has been named president of Institute for Educational Affairs. . . . Probably not such good news, appointment of moderate to liberal former Reagan assistant **David Gergen** as editor of *U.S. News & World Report*. . . . *NR* editor **Joseph Sobran** will speak at ISI seminar in New York April 19, at Fordham's Lincoln Center campus. Other speakers: **John P. McCarthy** and **William A. Marra** of Fordham, authors **Erich** and **Rael Jean Isaac** (*The Coercive Utopians*), pro-family activist **Connaught Marshner**. For info: call ISI at 215-525-7501.

*Insight*, weekly magazine of *Washington Times*, has found someone who helps people survive loss of a canine or feline friend. He is **Jamie Quackenbush**, "pet-bereavement counselor."



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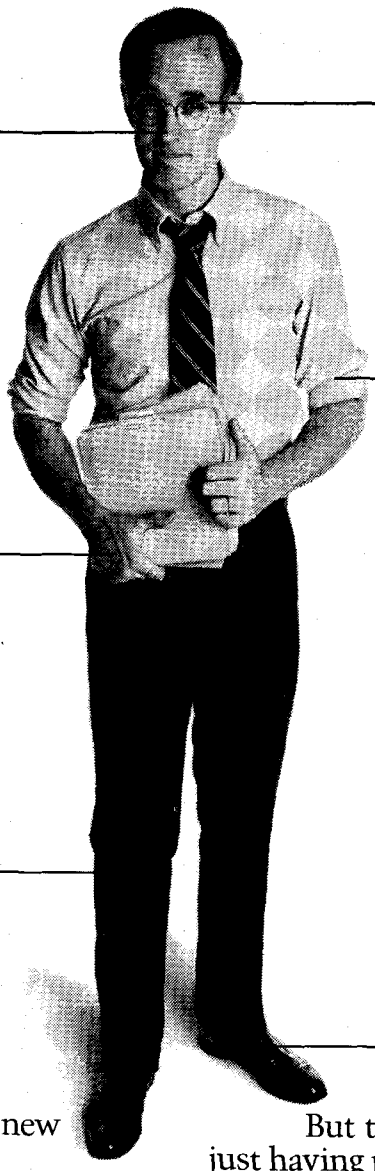

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# THE WEEK

☐ Dan Ortega phoned. He's going to make Pat Buchanan an offer he can't refuse: a date with Nora Astorga.

☐ If the world were as indignant about the Gulag Archipelago as it is about Imelda's shoes, we'd be on the brink of nuclear war.

☐ Governor Tom Kean of New Jersey, in a speech recently published by the Heritage Foundation, attributes his success in attracting minority support to his "seizing the high ground on the fundamental issue of opportunity." Instead of pandering to minorities with special-interest strategies, Kean says that conservative stances on issues like crime and schools, plus color-blind, growth-oriented economic policies, are the key to winning support. Kean should know: He was re-elected last fall with 70 per cent of the vote overall and 60 per cent of the black vote.

☐ Attorney General Meese's proposal to revise the Johnson-era executive order mandating racial hiring quotas on federal contracts sits on President Reagan's desk. The order symbolizes a transformation that occurred in the late Sixties: when civil rights stopped being a concern for universal liberties and became instead a code word for group privilege. The Johnson order's only supporters in the current Administration are mole-visioned hacks, deluded by the bellowing of interest-group spokesmen. Mr. President, give it a shove.

☐ The most interesting comment on New York City's burgeoning corruption scandals came from Senator Moynihan, who said that he had not fought for federal bailout money, back during the city's days of bankruptcy, "in order for it to be turned into loot." Looting, of course, is the characteristic mode of New York City politicians (corruption got so bad under Jimmy Walker that mobster Dutch Schultz was a Democratic poll watcher). Fiorello La Guardia and his fellow reformers boasted that they had cleaned up the city's act; but at the same time, they enormously expanded the range of services the city provided, an expansion that continued for the next five decades. Corruption battens on big government, as there is more money floating around to be skimmed, and it becomes more difficult to keep tabs on all the potential skimmers. The Big Apple has not found its last rotten apple by a long shot, though the suicide of Queens Borough President Donald Manes will slow the investigation.

☐ A happy fortnight for the good guys in Europe. Spanish voters (confounding the pollsters) opted to remain in the NATO alliance. Swiss voters (confounding the pollsters) said no, a thousand times no, to joining the United Nations: That vote was a resounding 3 to 1. And in France it was (as predicted, although by a smaller margin than predicted) a conservative sweep. The two parties of the Right, Jacques Chirac's Rally of the French People and the allied Giscardian Union for French Democracy, racked up 42 per cent of the vote, outpolling François Mitterrand's Socialists and their allies by ten points. But most significant was the continued and accelerated decline of the rigidly Soviet-dominated French Communist Party, which came in only a handful of votes ahead of Jean-Marie Le Pen's far-right National Front (whose 33 deputies, incidentally, do not form part of the ruling conservative coalition). Year in, year out, from the end of World War II to the early Eighties, the Communist Party of France owned nearly a quarter of the French electorate. Last week it polled under 10 per cent, making it politically irrelevant. As we said, not a bad show at all, at all.

☐ The latest addition to the roll call of sinner states is New Zealand—"a white racist state," according to the country's National Council of Churches, which even wants the country renamed "Aotearoa." It seems that until the missionaries arrived as agents of colonialist imperialism, the Maoris were happily munching

## Mitterrand Loses

As gifts go, nothing has the flair
Of checks imprinted *Rothschild Frères*,
So, sugar daddies, be advised
The bank's to be re-privatized.

W. H. von Dreele



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## LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

PAUL LAXALT may be just the man Reaganite conservatives are looking for to succeed the Gipper. Despite an undistinguished Senate record ("a premier live-and-let-live kind of guy," says a Midwestern GOP senator), Laxalt has become one of that chamber's most important members. A close friend of Ronald Reagan, he serves as a straight pipe between the Administration and Senate Republicans. He's also the President's fire-putter-outer on the Hill. Last August Laxalt decided to retire when his term expires at the end of this year, explaining that his "Basque soul cries out for more freedom." Actually he'll use that time to earn big legal and lobbying fees, thus positioning himself for a presidential bid, should events unfold propitiously.

Associates say Laxalt's long-standing yen for the Presidency has lately grown keener. "Of course I would like to be President," Laxalt stated flatly in an early March TV interview. "If one of the emerging candidates will fly a banner properly, I'll embrace him," he added. "If not, I'll take a look."

As a presidential candidate, Laxalt would be the natural choice of Reaganite conservatives. "Laxalt is as close to a philosophical clone of Reagan as you'll find," says a political veteran who knows both men well. His diplomatic triumph in the Philippines has given his image further luster. As the high-profile general chairman of the Republican National Committee, Laxalt has ample opportunity over the next two years to gain nationwide exposure, build name recognition, and deepen his GOP establishment support. His past hustling for the party has already earned him RNC staff backing.

One possible roadblock for Laxalt is persistent questions about his gambling connections, fueled by the *Sacramento Bee*'s allegations of profit skimming, mob ties, and doctoring of evidence. In October 1983 the *Bee* alleged that $2 million had been skimmed from a casino that Laxalt owned in the Seventies. Calling the charges "wholly false, misleading, and libelous," Laxalt responded with a $250-million libel suit, now pending in the Nevada courts. Publisher Charles McClatchy's defense attorneys have amassed boxes of potentially embarrassing documents, but, with one of the nation's top libel lawyers representing Laxalt (on a contingency basis, meaning that the lawyer smells a win), the senator might just convert that libel lemon into lemonade. Since movement conservatives have not yet settled on their candidate, keep your eye on Laxalt.

Bob Packwood's reputation among establishment Republicans is rather less savory than Laxalt's. A few years ago, the maverick Oregon senator alarmed fellow Republicans by calling Ronald Reagan the biggest obstacle to Republican realignment and insinuating that the President was growing senile. In 1982 things got so bad that Senate Republicans stripped Packwood of his Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee chairmanship. In 1984, though, Packwood took revenge, when he inherited the chairmanship of the powerful Senate Finance Committee. Since then his behavior toward Mr. Reagan has been more civilized, but the White House continues to eye him closely for quirky indocilities.

Although pundits have assumed Packwood would be re-elected this year, he faces a somewhat unpredictable primary fight. His margins of victory have always been slim, and many Oregonians believe he has lost interest in them, a big danger in a state known for voting out politicians, such as Wayne Morse and Al Ullman, who forget their roots. Ironically, Packwood's huge ($6 million) war chest figures to be a problem. Ninety-eight per cent of his money comes from out of state, mostly from the pro-abortion lobby and other fringe groups. Some Oregonians regard Packwood as beholden to these outside interests. He has compounded the problem by keeping most of his money in Washington, where he is expected to use it in a run for the Presidency in '88.

Reports circulating on the Hill also indicate that Packwood is fast losing media popularity at home. Slammed in state newspapers (even those that previously supported him) Packwood is dogged by pro-life hecklers at every campaign stop. Meanwhile, the senator seeks to enlarge the wilderness area of one of Oregon's most economically depressed regions (Hell's Canyon) even though the state would lose lumbering jobs and tax revenues.

Joe Lutz, Packwood's primary opponent, is the beneficiary of the senator's unpopularity. A newcomer to politics, Lutz, an evangelical pastor, can count on Oregon's New Right voters. A recent Lutz campaign poll shows Lutz trailing Packwood by only nine points among decided voters, with undecideds leaning his way. County election officials report that some Democrats and independents have been switching party affiliations to vote for Lutz. "Joe plans to go for Packwood's jugular," says a Lutz campaign official. At a minimum, Lutz may bloody Packwood, thus complicating the senator's presidential agenda. —CATO

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each other, and . . . oh, you know the rest. Maori "activists" are currently going to Cuba to study advanced liberation techniques.

☐ The University of Texas is attempting to quiet the voice of conservative dissent on campus by invoking an obscure and obsolete rule prohibiting the distribution on campus of any publication containing advertising—which rule somehow does not apply to the liberal campus newspaper, the *Daily Texan*. The action is aimed at the *Texas Review*, a standout campus conservative journal, which has filed suit against the university and is being represented by the Texas Civil Liberties Union, yes, that's right. A judge has issued a restraining order enabling the *Review* to distribute on campus until a decision is rendered. The last time the rule was invoked, it was challenged by *The Rag*, a leftist paper, which was granted an exception. *Review* staffers are confident of victory and say the publicity generated by the legal battle "has been a great boon to the paper."

☐ Ray Kerrison, a columnist for the *New York Post*, has long been making certain charges against the



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homosexual pressure groups in the city only to get showered with brickbats. So on the eve of the City Council's vote on the "gay-rights" bill, he produced a few quotations from the horses' mouths: "[The bill] is at best a step in a much larger process, namely, the creation of genuine acceptance of homosexuality in society at large." "Gay liberation is a social event. In its most moderate politics—the enactment of civil-rights legislation—it has radical potential because civil rights opens the way to acceptance, and acceptance opens the way to dissolution of the norm." "When the bill passes, it will be something else. There will always be something else." Comments Kerrison: "I have been saying precisely the same thing for months, only to be denounced as a bigot and worse by the gay community." Yeah, Ray, but you didn't *smile* when you said it.

☐ Free speech has just won a triple victory in the Supreme Court, and in each case it had to overcome the opposition of the liberal Left. All three issues involved the right not to speak—the right not to pay for or help propagate views one disagrees with. College students won the right not to contribute to Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Groups; utility companies won the right not to carry Naderite fundraising letters in their billing envelopes; and non-union workers won the right to make sure they are not being forced to pay for union political activities. All in all, a great month for Jeffersonian principle. Now if we could just keep the government from handing out direct subsidies for advocacy, we might get the ideologists' hands out of our pockets once and for all.

☐ Mario Cuomo's visage graced the cover of *Newsweek*, even though the governor "pleaded with them not to use photographs of my face because that doesn't help me." He recalled a debate with New York Mayor Ed Koch after which his daughter Madeline said: "You looked better on radio."

☐ The rumors, first noted in *NR*, that George McGovern held the inside track to be the next president of St. John's, the Great Books college in Annapolis, seem to be true. So, in retrospect, were the rumors, back in 1984, that a main motive of McGovern's quixotic presidential candidacy was to boost sagging lecture fees, and position himself for some cushy foundation or academic post. McGovern as the president of a college may seem absurd, especially of a college devoted to the Western classics (Shakespeare, Dante, Newton); but many college faculties are McGovernite in political temper, so perhaps it is not absurd after all. We just did not realize what presidency he was running for.

☐ Brown University really has it all together. Last year, the undergraduates voted to have cyanide distributed to them, because they did not want to live through a nuclear attack, but this year it's South Africa. Amy Carter and other students at Brown are fasting to protest apartheid, she apparently no longer advising her father on nuclear weapons. Not everything at Brown is political, however. Two undergraduates have been charged with prostitution and others apparently are involved.

☐ It turns out that the *Unpublished Poems of Chairman Mao* were published, but they weren't written by the Chairman. A young university student, upon reading the works, realized that many of the poems were his. The student reported the plagiarism to Chou En-lai and was subsequently harassed, beaten, and jailed. Despite this cultural revelation of Mao's literary imperialism, the capitalist-roaders down Peking way say there is no truth to the rumor that Mao's Little Red Book was ghost-written by Clifford Irving.

☐ Pleased to report—and also to use "Ms." correctly for the first time—that Ms. Raquel Cruz is the winner of the beauty pageant for transsexuals, earning the title, "Miss Man Made of 1986." Something odd there, but we can't put our finger on it. The pageant was slightly embarrassed when "host Phyllis Hyman" (aw, *c'mon*, guys) announced the wrong winner at first.

☐ COLD WARRIOR OF THE WEEK: Anthony Lewis of the *New York Times*, for his resonant declaration: "The Sandinistas are not our ideal of democracy."

☐ Now that Haiti is a democracy, the big question is whether the zombies will have the vote.

☐ ERRATUM: In "The Week" section for January 31, we mistakenly named Joseph Lowery, Benjamin Hooks, and Julian Bond as leaders of a delegation that had bestowed upon Muammar el-Qaddafi "The Decoration of Martin Luther King." In fact, the group was headed by the Reverend Hosea Williams, former executive director of the SCLC, and none of the above-mentioned men was present. The error originated in the book *Jesse Jackson and the Politics of Race*, by Thomas Landess and Richard Quinn.

## The Contras

PRESIDENT REAGAN has put the full weight of his personal prestige behind the Administration's policy of assisting the Nicaraguan *Contras*. Support in Congress is lukewarm at best, however, and unless some last-minute breakthrough is made, the Administration's request for $100 million in aid to the *Contras* may well go down to defeat on Capitol Hill. A compromise involving a smaller amount or an aid



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## George Bush, Photographer

Maybe the lens is the culprit;
  Could be the aperture's shot.
Still, he keeps clicking the shutter,
  Giving it all that he's got.
So many photos are fuzzy;
  Lots of them look like a blot.
Some say a viewpoint's the problem.
  Stieglitz, he's certainly not.

W. H. VON DREELE

package laced with restrictions is a possibility, but even that much support is by no means certain.

Two centuries of Americans may be grateful that the 99th Congress was not in session in Paris when the Continental Congress petitioned France for assistance in overthrowing British rule. Historical gratitude aside, however, something must be done—and done urgently—if the Administration's Central American policy is to be salvaged from destruction by a short-sighted Congress.

Part of the Administration's problem may lie in the way it has formulated its case. In an effort to appear reasonable and forthcoming, it has stated that the objective of supporting the *Contras* is not necessarily to overthrow the Sandinistas, but to force them to live up to past promises in the area of human rights and to force them to negotiate seriously. Most Americans sense that the *Contras*, so long as they pose no serious threat to the survival of Ortega's regime, will force the Sandinistas to do precisely neither of the above. And Americans are by nature pragmatic enough to loathe supporting policies whose ends are poorly defined or untenable, no matter how noble the underlying premise.

If the Administration is to resuscitate its Central American policy, it must articulate a vision of how aid to the *Contras* will result in a different kind of regime in Nicaragua two or three years hence. Perhaps the Administration could encourage the *Contras* to form a government in exile, which the United States would recognize at the same time it withdrew recognition from the Sandinistas.

Such a move would serve three purposes: First, it would force the *Contras* to delineate more clearly just what kind of an alternative they offer to Nicaragua. Second, it would give Washington greater influence in shaping a future government of Nicaragua, thus helping meet certain congressional objections about the *Contras* themselves. Third, it would be a clear statement of the United States' intention to eliminate, not merely to harass, the current regime in Nicaragua. A government in exile could also provide the core for a future alternative government to be set up somewhere on Nicaraguan territory, which could serve as a rallying point for resistance to the Sandinistas. The stakes in Central America are simply too high to play around with half measures.

## Reflections on Marcos

FERDINAND AND IMELDA MARCOS deplorably enriched themselves during their years of power and damaged the cause of freedom, but a few reservations need to be stated regarding the widespread glee now being exhibited over their exposure and embarrassment.

First of all, Marcos made a major contribution to the peaceful transition in the Philippines, leaving without a bloodbath or a civil war. He certainly could have mustered forces loyal to him and either prevailed or gone down shooting. Instead, he went through with his inauguration as president, thus preserving a sense of legality, and then, by leaving, resigned de facto. Daniel Ortega will not go so quietly. To get Allende out, the opposition had to bombard and then storm the Moneda Palace.

The Marcoses and their cronies cared more for the trappings of power than for its reality. Ferdinand Marcos entirely lacked a repressive apparatus on the Stalinist model, such as obtains in Cuba and Nicaragua. That is why he proved so vulnerable in the end. He was not a "strongman" but a weak man. Ask Lech Walesa about the difference between "authoritarian" and "totalitarian" regimes.

The Marcos loot, if such it proves to be, will be subject to adjudication. Rhetorical overkill and humiliation will be counterproductive politically. In the future, one or another such figure will face a crisis that will be resolvable only by his departure. It may well be in the U.S. interest that departure appear reasonably attractive to him. Persecution of Marcos now will simply narrow our policy options in that future contingency. It is time to cool it, and behave like a reasonable host.

## Dictatorships And American Standards

THE LAST FEW MONTHS, it is being widely said, not only swept aside two dictators—Jean-Claude Duvalier and Ferdinand Marcos—but swept aside a foreign-policy doctrine as well. The distinction between authoritarian and totalitarian states, outlined by Jeane Kirkpatrick in her 1979 *Commentary* article "Dictatorships and Double Standards," and subsequently adopted as a guiding policy by the Reagan Administration, supposedly has been abandoned. Leftists, encouraged by events, eagerly wonder what country will



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be next—South Korea? Chile? South Africa? The Reagan Administration shuffles its feet, now criticizing human-rights abuses in Chile, now trying to harness the new spirit for a push against the Sandinistas. Meanwhile, Charles Krauthammer, one of the bright young things at *The New Republic*, has proposed as a substitute for the Kirkpatrick doctrine a "third-force strategy": "trying to help build and support a middle, democratic third way."

Let us begin by clearing away some terminological brushwood. Any so-called "third way" seeks to avoid rhetorical identification with the "Right"—as in "right-wing dictators," by which we mean such as Marcos and Duvalier. But what, really, was right wing about those two men? What did they even have in common? Apparently the only meaning of the phrase "right wing" in present-day political parlance is "anti-Communist." It may refer to populist democrats gone soft, like Marcos, or to voodoo tyrants like Duvalier; to free-marketeer Reagan or socialist Duarte; to John Paul II or Afghan Mujahedin; to the Sultan of Oman or P. W. Botha—to anyone, in short, who resists, for whatever reason, the vectors of Communist conquest and control. It will be slapped on Mrs. Aquino soon enough—or, if the Left thinks there is still hope for her, on "right-wing forces" in her government who restrict her "flexibility." It will be slapped on the "third force" wherever and whenever it genuinely opposes Communism.

The broad range of "right-wing" forces suggests the insatiability of Communism, its protean omnivorousness. This was one of the distinctions that Jeane Kirkpatrick drew between totalitarians and authoritarians, and it still holds up (Marcos's and Duvalier's brands of government—unlike Castro's—were not for export). So do the predictions she drew from her analysis. "Since many traditional autocracies permit limited contestation and participation, it is not impossible that U.S. policy could effectively encourage this process of liberalization and democratization." That is a fair forecast of what actually happened in the Philippines, and in Haiti. Marcos and Duvalier would not, or could not, crush their opposition; we encouraged it; and they fell.

Democracy, then, was always as much a touchstone of Mrs. Kirkpatrick's analysis as of Mr. Krauthammer's. But is democracy a desirable goal, or even a coherent one? We have been here before, it turns out, during the great (and, as it proved, brief) period of liberal anti-Communism in the late Forties and early Fifties. Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s *The Vital Center*—another third way!—offered a credo for fighting democrats. And what a hollow credo it was. "The advocate of free society," Schlesinger admitted, "defines himself by telling what he is against: What he is for turns out to be certain *means* and he leaves other people to charge the means with content." Schlesinger spent much of the book thrashing around for a content—bits of Niebuhr, gobbets of Whitman; unsuccessfully. And so, a dozen years later, the vital-centrists grown up got us into a war in Vietnam they could neither explain nor defend, and which they ultimately abandoned.

Sensible American foreign policy has a content, and it is not democracy, but freedom: specifically, American freedom. The main threat to American freedom, now, as for the last forty years, is Communism. In pursuit of our interests, we collect all kinds of allies, from bosom companions to de facto auxiliaries. Some of the stablest of these—Britain, France, West Germany, Israel, Japan—are democracies. Some are not. Democracy can be a tranquilizing force in a nation's political life, and freedom, rightly understood, is always desirable; where totalitarianism is rebuffed, we can expect, as Jeane Kirkpatrick argued, that freedom and perhaps even democracy will flourish in the long run. But that is not our primary concern; we are, as John Quincy Adams said, the well-wishers of liberty everywhere, the champions only of our own. We can assess the state of liberty in the nations of the world, but these judgments should not determine our policy.

It's a safe bet, though, that the better human-rights records will be found among our friends. That's the right wing for you.

## State Department: Yes, It's True

IMAGINE WHAT would happen if Attorney General Edwin Meese, after taking yet another barrage of criticism from the American Civil Liberties Union, instructed one of his aides to write to several ACLU trustees asking them to resign in protest because the ACLU was embarrassing President Reagan. There would be, quite properly, national outrage at such an attempt to use the power and prestige of government to torpedo a private, nonprofit organization over a policy disagreement. The House Democrats would look into Meese's finances again, the media would shout censorship, Sam Donaldson might actually lose his mind.

Yet that, it seems, is pretty much what Secretary of State George Shultz, or one of his subordinates, has done to the Heritage Foundation. In late February, Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead, using official stationery, wrote several Heritage trustees (without sending copies to any Heritage executives) asking them either to persuade Heritage to stop criticizing Shultz and State, or to resign.

The proximate cause of Whitehead's letter was the release in January of a Heritage paper titled "Rhetoric *v.* Reality: How the State Department Betrays the Reagan Vision," summing up what many anti-Communist observers have been saying for months:



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### In Darkest Computerland

Keypunched to death for decades
By profs who love to look,
The Swedes have just discovered
They're all an open book.
Although the end seemed saintly,
The means now clearly show
Big Brother's move to Stockholm
Occurred some time ago.

W. H. VON DREELE

The most stubborn resistance to Ronald Reagan's decision to make aid to anti-Communist guerrillas a principal weapon of American foreign policy comes not from Congress but from the State Department. Whitehead charged that the paper was filled with "inaccuracies and false innuendoes," without specifying any. The paper's main points—that in Angola, Mozambique, Cambodia, and Afghanistan, State has resisted helping the rebels—have been made repeatedly by the rebel organizations themselves, their American supporters, and numerous journalists. As any Washington-based reporter who has covered these issues can testify, to listen to a State Department briefing on Africa or Afghanistan is to see bureaucratic deceit and pusillanimity raised to an art form. Even on Nicaragua and El Salvador, State is less useful than it could be; before presidential attention was fully focused on the Central American problem, State was a hindrance there as well. Thus we have two scandals: bureaucrats actively resisting settled American foreign policy to the objective benefit of our most dangerous enemies; and the highest-ranking member of the Cabinet (or at least his trusted deputy) officially sabotaging organizations that support the President's policy. Will the White House react to either?

## Meaningful Functions

FOR DECADES, the Soviet Union has packed its staff at the United Nations with far more employees than could possibly serve any meaningful, UN-related function. Meaningful functions, after all, are not exactly in rich supply at the United Nations. At last count, the USSR employed 275 of its own people as diplomats and support personnel at the UN, while the United Nations itself employed another six hundred (count 'em: six hundred!) Soviet citizens in various capacities.

The prospect of nearly nine hundred Kremlin-approved and certified toilers for peace and world unity is enough to bring tears to anyone's eyes, ours included. The Reagan Administration was also touched by the spectacle, so much so that it has ordered the Soviet mission to cut its staff to 170 within two years. The FBI is convinced that Moscow has indeed found a meaningful function for its minions in New York City, and that that meaningful function is espionage. Moreover, the FBI has concluded that the sheer size of the Soviet mission in New York City makes it impossible for federal agents to monitor and maintain reasonable control over the activities of so many potential Soviet agents. Only a reduction in the size of the Soviet staff will enable the bureau to do its job.

The Kremlin has protested that the Administration's decision to force a reduction is illegal and may reverse the warming trend in U.S.-Soviet relations created by last year's Summit meeting.

The Soviet diplomats and KGB agents who work at the UN may be employed on extraterritorial ground, but they live, play, and spy on U.S. territory, so it is perfectly legal for the United States to control their actions or expel them altogether. As for the post-Summit warming trend, if this new mini-détente is to mean anything at all, it had better be founded on strict principles of reciprocity and fairness in bilateral relations. The large Soviet staff in New York City violates these principles massively. Allowing the Soviets to get away with virtually anything in the name of détente was what gave détente a bad name the last time around.

If the forced reductions of the Soviet staff lead to the cancellation of Gorbachev's promised visit to the United States this year, well, let him visit Magnitogorsk. Basic principles of international relations must apply.

## Cranston's Automatic Pilot

AN ADMINISTRATION request to sell missiles to Saudi Arabia has been met with stiff opposition not from Israel the nation, but from Israel the lobby. A proposal that faces great resistance in Washington, but not in Jerusalem, would send $350 million worth of anti-aircraft and anti-ship missiles to the Saudis to protect Saudi and Kuwaiti oilfields from any expansion of the Iran-Iraq war.

The threat is quite real. The war between Iran and Iraq, which has already claimed at least one million casualties, had been a bloody stalemate until the Ayatollah's Revolutionary Guards, along with fanatical teenage volunteers, launched a human-wave offensive, seizing Iraqi territory at the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. There have been hints from Iranian officials that Kuwait may be their next target, and Saudi Arabia is the big domino.

Israel, which normally opposes arms sales to the Arabs, does not strenuously object to this one. It is in the interest of both Israel and the United States that the Gulf war and Islamic fundamentalism be con-



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tained. Nevertheless, the arms sale faces a tough battle in the U.S. Congress. Senator Alan Cranston says he has rounded up enough votes in the Senate to block the sale and soon will have enough to override a veto, should that prove necessary. The irony is that this does not represent Israeli policy, but is rather an automatic response by a powerful lobby that at times seems to have a foreign policy of its own.

## The Second Dartmouth College Case

*The following are excerpts from remarks made by Benjamin Hart of the Heritage Foundation at a Washington fundraiser for the legal defense of expelled and suspended Dartmouth students earlier this month. In its most recent move—since the following was written—the college vacated the expulsions and suspensions because of "procedural" errors (and because it feared defeat in court), and granted the students a new hearing before the disciplinary committee. Lawyers retained by the college inquired what penalty the students would accept and not go to court.*

PUT YOURSELF for a moment in the place of a young freshman at Dartmouth. His name is Les Grant. He is conservative, black, and on the staff of *The Dartmouth Review*. The militantly Left Afro-American Student Organization hangs and burns this conservative student in effigy. It then holds a mock trial and finds him guilty of racism, calling him—of all things—a "nigger."

The conservative black student is then hauled before the college disciplinary committee, in a campus atmosphere in which he has been called Nazi, Brownshirt, Fascist, bigot, Uncle Tom, and Klansman. He is then suspended from school for two terms. His crime: helping to dismantle three shanties that had been built on the central common, illegally, in protest of corporate investment in South Africa. His real crime: holding opinions contrary to the prevailing liberal ethos that permeates America's academic establishment. Welcome to Dartmouth!

Meanwhile, the town of Hanover, after ten weeks of tolerating this eyesore, ordered the college to remove the shanties, saying they were in violation of local zoning laws, and that if they were not removed, the college would be fined $100 a day.

Eighteen left-wing protestors were then arrested by the town police for preventing the removal of the shanties. One of the left-wing students actually slugged a police officer. The college has done nothing to them. The president of the college even wrote to the police, pleading with them not to prosecute the left-wing lawbreakers. He said, and I quote, "They did not realize the gravity of their offense."

In the midst of this entire episode, 150 left-wing students occupied the administration building in protest of the attempt at garbage removal. At one point, a black militant berated the college president for being out of town on Martin Luther King's birthday. He told him this proved without a doubt that he was a racist. The president apologized, and said he would try to do better in the future. He was then seen on CBS *Evening News* marching out of the college administration building arm in arm with the dean of the college singing "We Shall Overcome."

This is the kind of atmosphere in which *The Dartmouth Review* has existed for the past five years. It's not the students who oppose the newspaper. It's the faculty and the existing academic establishment. You see, the rioters and flag-burners of the Sixties are now the college deans and tenured faculty at America's major universities. They are bitter about the country's sharp move to the right, and are especially bitter about the increasing conservatism among the nation's young people. They have adopted a kind of bunker mentality. The college establishment is a last enclave of Sixties-style leftism.

Obviously, *The Dartmouth Review* represents everything they hate. They think they can close it down simply by throwing the kids off the campus. Well, they can't do that, because even if *Review* editor Debby Stone does not get reinstated, she says she will stay on campus all next year anyway, just to put out *The Dartmouth Review*.

If the conservative movement lets these kids down, these kids who are fighting the last vestiges of Sixties leftism—if the conservative movement does not come to the aid of the students who, at the moment, have their backs against the wall—then we might as well pack our bags and go home. For there will be no point carrying on the battle here in comfortable Washington, D.C., if we permit the Left to gang up on and lynch our people on America's real battlefront, the college campus.

## Jacob Javits, RIP

AFTER THE eulogies to his integrity and social conscience have faded out, the career of Jacob Javits will make a fascinating study in street-level political science. Yes, in his long terminal illness he showed courage and spirit. But Javits lived a life of contradiction: as a liberal Republican, as an advocate of redistribution who made millions during his political career, as a politician who said, "I never have believed in catering to ethnic groups" while doing little else but.

Javits could usually be found on both sides of the tough issues, sometimes within a short time span. He began as a supporter of the war in Vietnam but switched sides as the climate changed. He seldom took a position likely to cost him votes. Or money:



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Ralph Nader noted his "consistent willingness to sponsor his law firm's clients" in the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. Javits defended himself by saying simply, "I never made a secret of it. I had mentioned it on the floor."

Conservatives remember most vividly his refusal to support Barry Goldwater in 1964. Along with Nelson Rockefeller and John Lindsay, he made a specialty of running as a Democrat's Republican. It is somehow typical of him that he was hurt when the Republicans didn't want him on the national ticket in 1968.

It is fitting that one of his warmest eulogists was his Democratic colleague Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who called him "a man of world stature" and described his ambition as "the right kind: what the Greeks saw as the ennobling desire for deserved fame." "I revered him," Moynihan added, confirming many suspicions. Both men will be remembered as adepts in playing the angles of "reform." As the *New York Times* put it, "Jack Javits was a hustler for the high ground of public life." Alfonse D'Amato regained Javits's Senate seat for the Republican Party and at least some relationship to mainstreamism.

# NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Memo to: Bill
From: Linda
Re: Who speaks for *NR*?

We have published pieces lately on some controversial topics, and now we're catching flak from people who wonder: "How can NATIONAL REVIEW take such a position?" They clearly don't believe the statement on our contents page—"Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors"—and one can see their point. Obviously, a journal that takes matters of policy seriously tends to publish articles it agrees with. But equally obvious to anyone who has listened in on the Kirk/Meyer wars, or Harry Jaffa *v.* every other Straussian, or even certain *NR* editorial conferences, is the fact that there is no Apostles' Creed enunciating the party line; even when the principles are agreed upon—and not all of them are—they can, and will, be applied differently.

Your new editorial troika—Brookhiser and Vigilante and I—wonder if you would point out in "Notes & Asides" that *NR* recognizes that bona-fide conservatives can hold different views on matters such as population and immigration (with Ken Grubbs recently taking a stance in the articles section opposed to that of Chilton Williamson and Wayne Lutton in the book section), or the problem of whether to risk a bitter primary fight that might throw the election to a liberal Democrat (Fred Mann in "Capital Bulletins," Feb. 14), and that we think we can give house room to some of these opinions without committing the editors to one side or the other.

Origone / Rothco

Memo to: Linda Bridges
From: WFB

Dear Linda: Couldn't have said it better myself. And we should all be reminded that senior staffers at *NR* have right of access to "The Open Question," wherein they can outline their differences with a position taken in an editorial, or by a fellow editor. I'd say the privilege is invoked two or three times a year, going back to before you were born. Love, Bill

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I read the other day that you celebrated your sixtieth birthday, so I thought you might be in need of some cheering up. You're probably feeling old and ugly and useless. I mean let's face it, when Alexander the Great was your age he had been dead for thirty years.

But do not despair, sir. Just because your chins flap when you talk doesn't mean your mind has deteriorated. Lots of old guys are still able to think pretty well. Look at Arthur Schlesinger Jr.



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And if you're worried about women, don't be. Many women find balding, corseted old men eminently cupcakeable.

So cheer up, old fella. No matter how decrepit you are, I am still one of your most devoted admirers.

Respectfully,
Mark Jones
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Mr. Jones: Gee! You make me feel young again. Many thanks. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

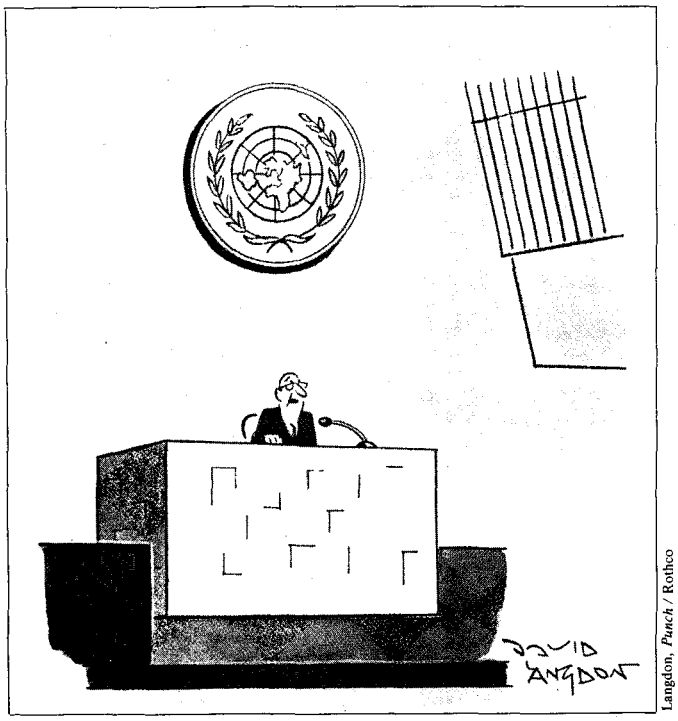
I generally agree with your opinions but I must take exception with your column "Fascism à la Mode" ["On the Right"] in the February 28 issue.

As a musician, I would like to address the last two paragraphs. The penultimate paragraph makes reference to a performance of the Verdi *Requiem* that was not recorded "because the labor unions don't permit even archival recordings, never mind that the cost is trivial."

In dealing with the Musicians' Union on this topic of recording it has been my impression that the problem is not the cost of recording but what use is made of the tape.

Musicians are not perfect, and tapes of performances have been used by conductors in the past to harass individual players. But more important than that is the possible use of that recording for profit. Even though the recordings are listed as being "archival," once one copy exists there is no way to control it. It can either be used for black-market recordings, or the orchestra management may even decide to release the recording years later. At that point many players may lose out on what was their hard work.

Sincerely,
Jeffrey P. Bates
Philadelphia, Pa.




Langdon, *Punch* / Rothco

*"The Gulf war is canceled, as both sides claim to be winning."*

Dear Mr. Bates: I don't see why that argument couldn't be used to prevent people from buying cameras, on the grounds that they could proceed to sell pictures at the expense of a situation conceivably merchandisable. And I remind you that libraries exist because authors acquiesce in the general availability of a single volume to a large number of people. Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Bill,

What a terrible way to start off a day. You pick up your least favorite newspaper, but one you're addicted to, and you read that your favorite writer has very nicely accused you of an error.

In my letter in the *Wall Street Journal*, I reported that John Kenneth Galbraith supported George Bush in the 1970 Senate race.

You wrote: "Professor Galbraith said to me that it was certainly wrong, that he 'could not conceive of such an aberration.'"

If you don't believe *me*, would you believe the *Congressional Quarterly*? "He [Bush] even got help from liberals displeased by Bentsen. Liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith and ex-Senator Ernest Gruening, a liberal from Alaska, wrote letters in his behalf." (July 19, 1980)

Or how about the *Texas Observer*? "I would like to urge Texas liberals to vote for George Bush—and to defeat Lloyd Bentsen," wrote Professor Galbraith in a letter headlined GALBRAITH ENDORSES BUSH. (August 7, 1970, page 24)

Professor Galbraith remembers it differently, but then Professor Galbraith remembers *everything* differently. (You know—you've read his books.) Please remind him to wear a helmet when he goes skiing.

Warmest regards,
Richard [A. Viguerie]
President, The Viguerie Company
Falls Church, Va.

Dear Richard: When I received your letter, I read it to Professor Galbraith, and he said, "Oh-my-God, now I remember, I *was* wrong. My point back then was that Lloyd Bentsen was such a reactionary, Texans might just as well vote for George Bush. But Viguerie is right, I did endorse him, for that reason." I asked JKG whether he wished to take the occasion to recant other positions he has taken, but since this was at 4 P.M. and I had a dinner date at 8 P.M., we agreed there wasn't enough time. Sorry about that, Richard. Cordially, Bill

**—WFB**



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# IS JACK RUNNING IN PLACE?

JACK KEMP's presidential proto-candidacy is stalling out, some corridor gossips on Capitol Hill are saying. A six-month-old Free Congress Foundation poll showing that George Bush dwarfs Kemp among conservatives in both name recognition and favorable ratings is still being quoted. Kemp has also failed to put together an apparatus for grass-roots organizing and fundraising to match Bush's.

On the platform, Kemp's performances are erratic. "No question that Jack can give a stem-winder," says a mainline GOP senator, "but you never know when." In his speeches, Kemp routinely lays out ideas and formulas designed to make the Republican Party dominant. The GOP can become the permanent majority party, he contends, only if it reaches out to constituencies that Democrats have long taken for granted, especially blue-collar workers, urban ethnics, and blacks. His populist rhetoric exalts free enterprise, self-reliance, and equal opportunity. He urges expanded civil-rights protection and attacks South African apartheid, believing that such emphases will win potentially crucial black support in 1988, and show him to be the only GOP candidate who can siphon it.

As Kemp tries to broaden his base, though, he runs the risk of destabilizing his New Right underpinnings. "The American people want a government that is compassionate," declares Kemp, sounding almost Carteresque, and the New Right winces. Last fall Kemp upset conservatives by asking the President to remove from his budget proposal all freezes on Social Security benefits, fearing that Democrats would use the issue to bash House Republicans. New Right leaders accuse Kemp, moreover, of concentrating on economics to the neglect of foreign policy and social issues. Kemp cites his correct voting record in response, but hard-liners are not satisfied.

"He votes right on the social issues but never talks about them," says New Right leader Paul Weyrich. Howard Phillips of the Conservative Caucus says that Kemp lacks the essential but intangible leadership traits that Reagan has in abundance. Kemp's efforts to keep all groups happy leave people wondering what, if anything, he truly believes in. His switcheroo on last fall's Democratic tax-reform bill, which he originally blasted but at the eleventh hour backed, drew charges of treason from fellow House Republicans. Kemp has also been unable to deflect Phillips's criticism for his vote last August favoring mild, Reagan-advanced sanctions against South Africa. "Kemp tries to play both sides at once," says a disgruntled New Righter. "He denounces the disinvestment campaign, then votes for sanctions."

Kemp's latest efforts to mollify the Right have fallen flat, notably his address to the Conservative Political Action Conference in February. "He tried to press all the buttons but showed real enthusiasm only for economics," says a prominent Washington conservative of Kemp's talk to the Council for National Policy in Phoenix. At the early March dinner in Washington feting Senator Paul Laxalt a number of those present thought Kemp's toast was especially underwhelming. As Washington political columnist Fred Barnes put it recently, pre-candidate Kemp seems to be "running in place."

But is he? Occasional lapses in speechifying aside, the case can be made that Kemp is on the move, shoring up weak spots on the Right and assembling the winning elements of a presidential bid. Although economics continues to be his favorite issue, Kemp crusades on several others. In Iowa he called for the election of pro-life judges. He co-sponsored a bill calling for aid to UNITA in Angola, and he joined in the latest round of Shultz-bashing, this winter's most popular diversion among Washington conservatives. He even added the Strategic Defense Initiative to his agenda.

To answer those who say he lacks the fire in the belly, Kemp points to his packed speaking schedule in Iowa, New Hampshire, and Michigan. Who else but a prospective candidate would serve as grand marshal of the Iowa Cattle Congress? To improve his fundraising, Kemp is making overtures to Citizens for America's megabucks Lew Lehrman, his gold-bug ally of long standing.

Kemp's biggest advantage is the trouble George Bush will inevitably face in coming months. Although the Vice President has complete name recognition plus GOP establishment support, he has no constituency, as pols here have continually noted. What interest group can get excited about George Bush? George's image problem —preppy cheerleader for Ronald Reagan—is far more serious than Jack's.

## *Time on His Side*

THE CONGRESSMAN from New York has made a solid start. He is right to expand his support by appealing to moderates, despite the protests of Beltway hard-liners. Only a candidate with wide backing can beat a strong Democratic challenger in 1988. At the same time, he must watch his right flank and reflect that he is not yet the conservatives' anointed leader. Paul Laxalt, Pierre du Pont, Pat Robertson, or some yet unseen other might capture their allegiance. Above all, Kemp should pray for no recession in 1987 or '88. A recession is an unlikely contingency, but one that could knock both him and Bush out of orbit.

Time is on Kemp's side. The two years remaining before 1988 permit him to build name recognition and grass-roots organization, and (you can bet on it) to portray George Bush as a Republican Mondale. □



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# TYRANNICAL THOUGHTS

WHO REMEMBERS General Duong Van Minh? Big, jovial chap who (with American approval) overthrew President Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam on November 1, 1963. He didn't last long: His turn came at the end of January 1964. Then there was another, and another, and another. And now Moscow's Communist protégés are in Saigon (or Ho Chi Minh City). Will it be thus in the Philippines? Certainly the advent of President Corazon ("heart" in Spanish) Aquino prompts further thoughts on the overthrow of tyrants, and what comes next.

The trouble with strongmen is that they rarely know when to bow out. The "hate Marcos" school, now dominant in most countries, including his own, has forgotten, or never knew, the chaos of uncontrolled crime and disorder he inherited from his predecessor when he was first elected president in 1965, or the rapid benefits he brought during his first two terms of office. All this was before the sweet corruption of power took over.

I join in the widespread praise for the Administration's handling of a delicate crisis, and I salute President Reagan's and Secretary of State Shultz's recognition of a long-term debt of gratitude to the man when they decided they could no longer help him to remain in Malacanang Palace. Just to stir honorable memories, in 1966 Marcos sent a two-thousand-man engineer unit to South Vietnam and made Philippine bases available to the U.S. forces in that country.

The Shah, too, was a friend of the United States, and the decision to deny him aid and comfort in the revolutionary crisis of 1978 will surely go down in history as a major error of judgment, the tyranny of the fanatical mullahs having proved infinitely worse than the relative benevolence of His late Imperial Majesty.

For the United States, the dilemma of when to support, when to intervene, and when to stand idly by is a cruel one, made palpably worse since the Vietnam debacle by the irresponsibility of Congress. Even if the man at the top gets it right, he may find he attracts nothing but opprobrium. Thus it was when Lyndon Johnson decided, in April 1965, to send in the Marines to restore democratic order in the Dominican Republic.

It worked, and latter-day history has proved him right. I said so at the time, on the basis of very precise information about the training in Cuba, and elsewhere, of Dominican revolutionaries and their infiltration back into their own country. Had Johnson not intervened, the U.S. would have had another Cuba on its doorstep.

But one still remembers the howls of rage that greeted the decision to intervene. Even so staunch an anti-Communist as Theodore Draper, from his fastness in the Hoover Institution, denounced Johnson in terms of more than academic vehemence. Johnson himself, having acted like a statesman, quickly reverted to his more normal role as a wheeler-dealer politico and spent anxious days and nights calling the faint-hearted and rallying them to his cause. Even such leading Kennedy liberals as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Teodoro Moscoso, ex-head of the Alliance for Progress, came around.

Even so, Johnson couldn't win them all. Without the Vietnam War to contend with, he might well have taken the Dominican crisis comfortably in his domestic stride. But the rot started with Santo Domingo, until the accumulated pressure and personal abuse combined to make LBJ feel that life as President was no longer bearable.

It would be interesting to know what General Pinochet of Chile feels about recent events in the Philippines. I can hazard a guess. He had no reason to love Marcos. He was understandably furious when the latter did nothing to discourage anti-Pinochet riots while the Chilean president was on his way to the Philippines for a state visit, and he suffered the humiliation of having to turn around and head back to Santiago. Is he, on the other hand, wondering: "My turn next?" In fact the Chilean people owe a debt of gratitude to Pinochet for ridding them of the revolutionary lunacy of Salvador Allende. But is he not overstaying his welcome?

AT THE HEIGHT of the post-election crisis in the Philippines, I had allowed myself to think that a victory for Mrs. Aquino could mean a Communist takeover within a year.

In my last column, written in the heat of her victory, I gave her a good mark for keeping on Mr. Juan Ponce Enrile as defense minister. A logical enough move, since it was Enrile's defection from the Marcos camp that ensured her delayed triumph.

Her next moves, however, were disquieting. She freed, or gave immunity from arrest to, a number of leading Communist detainees. Mrs. Mila Aguilar Roque, who had been in charge of education in the Philippine Communist Party, is thus free to do her worst.

Mr. Sotar Ocampo, another leading Communist, escaped from jail last year, and is now not to be re-arrested. Worse, possibly, was the president's decision to release the urban guerrilla (read "terrorist") Reynaldo Maclang, who was jailed for his part in the "light-a-fire" movement, which set fire to hotels and other substantial buildings in Manila some years ago. Another happy guerrilla is Mr. Rolando Montiel, now released from house arrest.

Does this amnesty merely indicate a concern for human rights? Or is it consistent with the report that Cory Aquino made a pre-election deal with the Communists? I await the answers, with some trepidation. □



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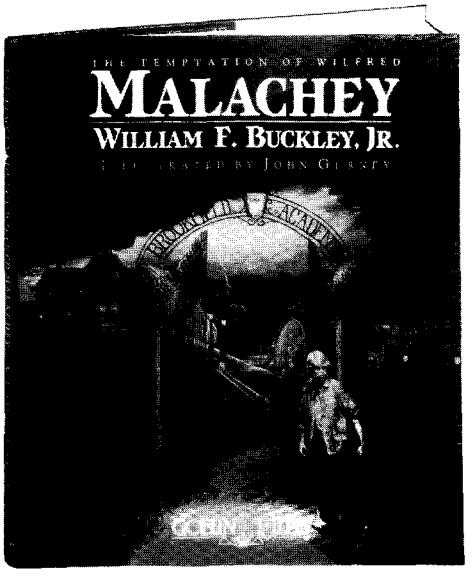
# What?
# Bill Buckley has written a children's book?

Yes, he has, and a darned good one too. *The Temptation of Wilfred Malachey* is a fascinating tale for kids, a thriller with a touch of the supernatural and a powerful appeal to the imagination. It's aimed at young readers from eight to thirteen (but *adults beware*: if you read the first few pages you'll be hooked too!).




*Malachey* is an ingenious fairy tale brought up to date. It has all the old ingredients—an ancient curse, a decrepit prep-school setting—and something new: a fearsome goblin who makes his appearance on a computer screen.

Any intelligent child will enjoy this book—even those who haven't had the slightest experience with a real computer (of course many *have*, these days). The plot is intriguing: Wilfred attempts to bargain electronically with OMEGAGOD, the goblin of the computer. It's fun and instructive—it's hard to imagine a youngster who wouldn't be tickled pink to get a copy of *The Temptation of Wilfred Malachey*, and, who knows, it might spark interest in more and better reading.

Right now you can get this beautifully printed, beautifully illustrated book ($10.95 retail) as a FREE bonus just by subscribing to *National Review* for a full year (25 big issues) at the regular $34 rate. If you're already a subscriber there's no problem either—simply extend your present subscription for another full year beyond its current expiration date (*whenever* that is, we'll handle it properly).

*Malachey* is guaranteed to delight any child you know, and let's face it, WFB isn't likely to write *another* one. So send for your FREE copy of this remarkable book right now. Fill out the handy card opposite this page and return it to us today. We'll send the book to you without delay. But please do it now before our precious, strictly limited supply of *Malachey* runs out. Many thanks.

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# CAPITAL BULLETINS

## FUNDING THE RIGHT

DO CONSERVATIVE scholars betray their principles when they accept federal research grants? The question has set off a bit of a donnybrook in right-wing circles, the tone of which seems to be, "Dear soulmate, you are a hypocrite."

It all started slightly outside the conservative peerage. Late last year, the Cato Institute published a book entitled *Destroying Democracy: How Government Funds Partisan Politics*, detailing how left-wing organizations hijack federal grant programs to further their own ends. But tacked onto the end of the book is a chapter describing right-wing organizations' use of similar tactics. The authors concluded that the Federal Government should stop funding partisanship on both the Left and the Right.

Shortly thereafter, Martin Morse Wooster, Washington editor of *Harper's*, wrote an article for the *Wall Street Journal* in which he pointed out that Russell Kirk, Milton Friedman, and a group of scholars from Claremont, California, all accept National Endowment for the Humanities grants to support work that, among other things, argues for the abolition of the NEH. The *Washington Times* editorial page then weighed in, declaiming: "Now that they constitute the 'in' party, conservatives ought to behave in an exemplary, not simian, fashion. They ought not to ape the very practices they protested for years . . ."

This prompted a response from Russell Kirk, a member of the *Times*'s editorial advisory board, who called the *Times*'s remarks "ignorantly defamatory," arguing that "On that basis, we may expect to encounter in your pages editorials denouncing President Reagan for being paid a salary out of the Treasury . . ." Claremont scholar Harry Jaffa, another member of the *Times*'s editorial advisory board, also wrote in: "I agree that in a more perfect world, the National Endowment for the Humanities would be abolished . . . But in the imperfect world in which we live, the only alternative sometimes is whether our friends or our enemies are going to be helped by the public funds appropriated."

Howard Phillips, chairman of the Conservative Caucus, joined the anti-funders. In a letter to the *Times*, Phillips expressed great respect for Russell Kirk, but concluded: "He has no more right than do scholars and advocates of the Left to receive discretionary subsidies, [in] the payment of which the IRS allows working Americans no discretion whatsoever."

Though there have been expressions of respect all around, the debate has grown surprisingly acrimonious, in Washington conservative circles especially. The issue will not go away. It is one of the many dilemmas that conservatives, now uncomfortably astride the federal beast, must face.

—DAVID BROOKS

## THE DEMOCRATS' 'LITTLE BIG MAN'

IN THE House Democratic leadership, the era of the Great Society Democrats is gradually giving way to the rule of the Watergate Babies of 1974 and other similarly militant post-Vietnam Democrats. One of the most important among the new breed is five-foot-two-inch Representative Henry Waxman of California. Although he is not as well known as some of his colleagues (Solarz, Downey, Barnes), Waxman has spent the last decade building an intimidating political machine. He is also a powerful force driving the House left.

Waxman is relentlessly ideological, and says so. "God has blessed me with a liberal district," he croons. He has a reputation for never yielding on an issue. The AIDS furor has frightened many Democrats into dropping gay rights as an issue; Waxman remains an outspoken advocate. In 1981, when many liberals were caving in on budget cuts under the pressure of Reagan's popularity, Waxman hung tough, and he succeeded, almost singlehanded, in preserving many of the programs targeted for elimination. As *Sacramento Bee* reporter Leo Rennert put it: "When the budget-cut conference broke up . . . Waxman had succeeded in preserving community health-care centers, family-planning programs, migrant health centers, and the National Health Service Corps."

His main issues are the environment and health care. Business is still hurting from his skillful opposition to Commerce Committee Chairman John Dingell's attempt to liberalize the Clean Air Act. Waxman, who chairs the subcommittee on Health and the Environment, wheeled into Dingell's committee room a shopping cart filled with six hundred amendments he threatened to introduce if the bill got out of committee. It didn't. "He's formidable," says Mark Griffith, a lobbyist for the National Association of Manufacturers. "Nearly everything business wants winds up going through his committee."

But it is his political clout, not his legislative ability, that has earned Waxman his reputation as California's "little big man." In addition to providing him with an unswervingly liberal constituency, his rich Hollywood base has afforded him the capacity to flood the campaign coffers of like-minded colleagues with tremendous infusions of cash.

Waxman's "machine" has, in various ways, helped fund the campaigns of a number of left-Democratic congressmen from California including Howard Berman, Esteban Torres, Marty Martinez, and Jim Bates, a former San Diego supervisor. Rick Lehman and the late Phil Burton of Northern California have also received money from Waxman and Co. And Waxman's influence goes beyond California: He now gives money to left-wing Democrats across the country.

In 1979, Waxman decided to run for the chairmanship of his subcommittee. In an unprecedented move for a junior member, Waxman, who had contributed a total of $24,000 to the re-election efforts of ten committee members, defeated the favorite, Richardson Preyer (D., N.C.), a highly regarded Southern moderate.

Waxman remains silent about his fu-



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ture ambitions. He seems content, at the moment, to continue building his power base in California and rewarding ideological compatriots. But some of the younger militants are touting Waxman as a possible rival to Jim Wright for the speakership or Thomas Foley for majority leader—two New Deal Democrats whose adherence to the old rules of conduct is too accommodationist for the post-Vietnam generation in the House.

—Benjamin Hart

## DARK-HORSING AROUND

Project '88, a mysterious Republican political-action committee set up last year, has become one of the chief delights of Washington rumor mongers. The people running Project '88 deny that it is a vehicle for any presidential candidate, which, Washington being Washington, no one here believes. Some political observers have suggested it is an anyone-but-Bush effort; others claim it is pro-Bush. It has been called, as well, a front for just about every conceivable Republican candidate, including Jack Kemp, Phil Crane, Pat Robertson, Lew Lehrman, Paul Laxalt, Howard Baker, and pick-a-Dole.

The anyone-but-Bush rumors may have been inspired by the group's stated purpose. The 1988 campaign is threatening to start even earlier than the 1984 campaign did; Project '88's official goal is to lobby at the grass roots to keep national attention focused on the unfinished Reagan agenda rather than on the ambitions of the candidates. But since Bush's strategy, like Mondale's, is to lock the race up early by sheer organizational supremacy, some in cynical Washington interpret any attempt to push back the start of the race as an anti-Bush move.

The stop-Bush theory was confounded, however, when the Vice President appeared at Project '88's first major fundraising event, the now famous testimonial dinner for William Loeb, the late publisher of the *Manchester* (New Hampshire) *Union Leader*. That was the dinner at which Bush, who had been savaged by the *Union Leader* during the 1980 primary season, heaped praise on Loeb's memory, prompting a number of commentators to question Bush's character.

A related theory was that Project '88 was really the creature of New Hampshire Republicans who wanted to keep the campaign from starting too early not because they opposed Bush, but because they did not want to see the New Hampshire primary's considerable influence in presidential politics diluted by other contests starting even earlier. The evidence for this theory was that Max Hugel and David Carmen, both longtime New Hampshire activists, were among Project '88's early principals, with founder Hugel serving as chairman. That theory was blown by the group's organizing efforts in 15 states and its success in signing up a number of powerful conservative politicos as state chairmen.

Because David Carmen had served formerly with Citizens for America, the pro-Reagan grass-roots lobby headed by Lew Lehrman, Carmen's involvement in Project '88 also led to speculation that the group was really a Lehrman vehicle. But the Lehrman theorists had to defend themselves from the Laxalt theorists, who pointed out that Michelle Laxalt, the senator's daughter, was a Project '88 consultant. (She eventually resigned.) Politics fans found similar wisps of evidence of relationships between Project '88 and nearly every other potential candidate.

The truth, it now appears, is that Project '88 is what it claims to be, an organization sincerely dedicated to keeping Republican energy focused on the issues. But, as the organizers of Project '88 certainly know, such a focus does have political implications. Slowing the momentum of early presidential campaigning might indeed keep Vice President Bush from rendering the contest moot; but it might, as well, keep any single alternative candidate, such as Representative Jack Kemp, from uniting the "movement" conservatives early. Some conservatives here who oppose Bush, and see Kemp as the only real alternative, argue that hesitation is dangerous. Others, however, argue that unlike 1976 and 1980, it is not at all clear at this point who is the natural movement candidate, either politically or ideologically. Under the circumstances, they argue, the best course is to press the issues and watch how well the potential candidates serve conservative goals, waiting for a real movement leader to emerge rather than risking too much, too early, on an unproven candidate. In this scenario, the Vice President himself would have more time to prove himself as a conservative leader.

—Fred Mann

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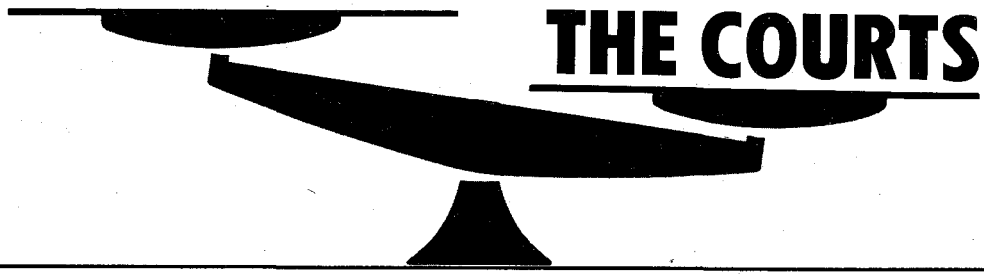
# UN-PACKING THE COURTS



THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY, a liberal stronghold since the New Deal, may soon come under conservative control. When it does, the highly touted "Reagan Revolution" will become a fact.

True, Franklin Roosevelt appointed nine Supreme Court Justices; Ronald Reagan has appointed only one. But five of the current Justices were born before 1909. William Brennan, 79, was talking about retiring even before Reagan took office; he and the infirm Thurgood Marshall, 77, would probably have stepped down by now except that it would have been Reagan naming their successors. Chief Justice Warren Burger, 78, is rumored to be planning to retire next term. Lewis Powell, 78, is battling cancer. In fact, the most actuarially hopeful of the current Justices, Sandra Day O'Connor, 56, and William Rehnquist, 61, are reliably conservative.

Meanwhile, Reagan has named approximately 240 judges to lower federal courts, approaching Jimmy Carter's record 258 with nearly three years remaining in his second term. (There are now approximately 740 federal judgeships in all.)

Moreover, there is plenty of high-powered talent waiting in the wings. Robert Bork, of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, is the most likely candidate for the next High Court vacancy, and his is a legal mind powerful enough to change the course of debate. Much the same can be said of other frequently mentioned prospects, such as Antonin Scalia and Richard Posner.

What is at stake is the philosophy the federal judiciary will operate under for the next generation. Change from the liberal activism of the Fifties and Sixties has been long in coming. Richard Nixon promised strict-constructionists (and no doubt meant it), but he wound up giving us Warren Burger, Harry Blackmun, and Lewis Powell. And as Terry Eastland, now a special assistant to Attorney General Edwin Messe III, has observed, "Not only has the Burger Court failed to overturn, or even to modify substantially, the principal decisions of the Warren Court. It has also compiled a record of judicial activism that rivals its predecessor's." The Court's abortion ruling in *Roe* v. *Wade* is only the most flagrant example; Blackmun, who wrote the majority opinion, now defends it, with a fine incomprehension of Nixon's promise (not to mention his own institutional role), as a milestone in "the emancipation of women."

MEESE, who is in charge of judicial selection, made the philosophical stakes explicit last July when he told the American Bar Association that the Reagan Administration favors a "jurisprudence of original intent." The point would hardly seem controversial—Bork says flatly that "original intent is the only legitimate basis for constitutional decision"—but Meese's speech set off a chain reaction of violent argument.

The most important event in the controversy, beyond question, was Justice Brennan's speech at Georgetown University in October, a thinly veiled attack on Meese's seemingly innocuous doctrine.

Brennan pooh-poohed the very idea that "original intent" is discoverable. "All too often," the historical evidence is "sparse and ambiguous." (So much for that.) Besides, the "contours" of the Constitution's framing are now "anachronistic." We must apply its "overarching" and "fundamental principles" to new circumstances in the light of "social progress."

If "original intent" is so elusive, how can "fundamental principles" be discovered? The question didn't occur to Brennan: For him it was plain that the Constitution offers a "timeless . . . vision of human dignity." For "the genius of the Constitution rests not in any static meaning it might have had in a world that is dead and gone, but in the adaptability of its great principles to cope with current problems and current needs." It is "a sublime oration [!] on the dignity of man, a bold commitment by a people to the ideal of libertarian dignity protected through law."

Forgetting his own premise, Brennan even discovered a new version of original intent: "Our Constitution was not intended to preserve a pre-existing society but to make a new one." Moreover, "the demands of human dignity will never cease to evolve." Overworking the principle of "adaptability," Brennan even inserted an argument against capital punishment, to which he is absolutely opposed—a position which (as he noted) also puts him in opposition to most living Americans, presumably because he has evolved a bit faster than most of us (though he made a little bow to the idea that Justices mustn't rule "according to their personal moral predilections").

Brennan's speech was a major event—the belated manifesto, as it were, of the Warren Court. Meese had smoked him out. Various liberal pundits, editorial writers, and constitutional shysters rushed to Brennan's support. Yes, they agreed, "original intent" was lost



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in the fogs of antiquity—and anyway, who needs it?

But without realizing it, they were only exposing themselves. The more doubtful the liberals were about what the Framers intended, it appeared, the more certain they were about what the Constitution mandated for our time. All along, they had been appealing to our reverence for the Constitution only to enlist our unthinking deference to its current interpreters on the High Court—who "interpreted" it on, say, capital punishment according to what some would call their personal moral predilections, even if Brennan terms it a constitutional "vision of human dignity." While finding the letter of the Constitution a bit blurry, the liberals had a pipeline to the Framers' spirit.

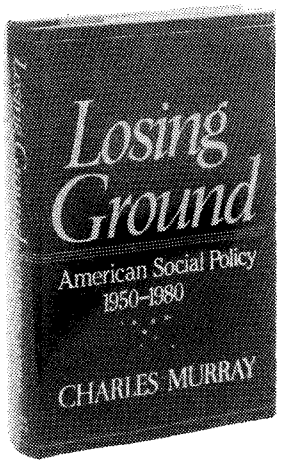
Conservatives quickly weighed in with annihilating counter-arguments. Bork observed, in a speech of his own, that "the words [of a given law or the Constitution] constrain judgment. They control judges every bit as much as they control legislators, executives, and citizens." He went on: "Obviously, values and principles can be stated at different levels of abstraction. In stating the value that is to be protected, the judge must not state it with so much generality that he transforms it." Case in point: the "right of privacy" that the Court in 1965 discovered somewhere in a "penumbra" of the Bill of Rights. "Since there is no constitutional text or history to define the right, privacy becomes an unstructured source of judicial power."

Exactly: power. "Not surprisingly," Eastland chimed in, "those who reject a jurisprudence of original intention still admire judicial power."

Others asked why, if Brennan is right, we need a written Constitution at all. Lino Graglia, a Reagan appointee (not yet confirmed, and fiercely opposed by liberals) to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, remarked that Brennan's Constitution seemed to be written in "disappearing ink." Walter Berns pointed out that "when 'time' and not the constitutional text provides the standard by which judicial decisions are to be measured, the inevitable consequence is a Constitution that can be interpreted but not misinterpreted, construed but not misconstrued. Why, then, bother with a Constitution? Of what use is it?" Raoul Berger noted that if the Fourteenth Amendment had the broad meaning Brennan reads into it, the Fifteenth Amendment, enfranchising former slaves, would have been redundant.

By the new year there wasn't much left of Brennan's thesis, and the liberals were hanging on for dear life. Taking a leaf from Norman Lear, Laurence H. Tribe of Harvard accused Meese of taking an approach that was "profoundly un-American." A liberal stronghold is indeed menaced.

Other voices were heard. Michael Kinsley, editor of *The New Republic*, recalled his little-heeded warning to fellow liberals that they had relied too long on judicial activism to enact their agenda, and warned that activism might now become a conservative weapon. But Bruce Fein, formerly of the Justice Department, says that liberals should rest assured that judicial restraint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would restrain conservatives too; and indeed Meese has said that under the principle of federalism, the states would be able to pass strict gun-control laws and permissive abortion laws.

But a Reagan Court would certainly be active, if not activist. Grover Rees III, a special counsel to Meese, bridles at the very word "activism." He says it has become a meaningless term of abuse: A Court can reverse earlier Court rulings without being "activist," in the sense of imposing a social agenda under color of interpreting the Constitution.

No doubt this is true. If earlier rulings have been wrong, a new Court should correct them. And it doesn't take necromancy to determine "original intent": The meaning of the Constitution is not to be sought in the subjective motives or secret diaries of James Madison, but in the publicly understood meaning accepted on all sides by those who wrote, ratified, and lived with the Constitution over several generations.

JUST HOW active would a Reagan Court be? The problem is a structural one, not just a personnel problem to be remedied by stocking the Court with good guys. By now there is an enormous load of liberal precedent, most of it revolving around a few phrases in the Fourteenth Amendment: "equal protection," "due process," and "privileges or immunities." The liberal Court has used all these, under the "incorporation" theory of the Fourteenth Amendment, to require the states to be bound, along with the Federal Government, by the Bill of Rights—as interpreted by the Court.

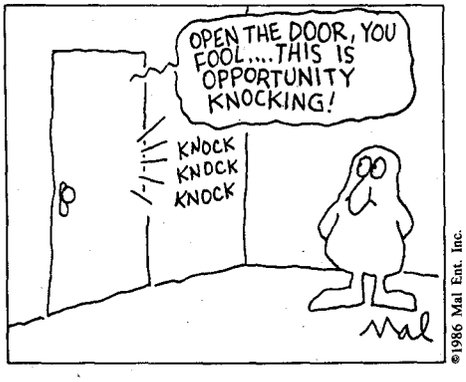
Would a Reagan Court dare to reverse all this? The furor would be enormous. Even Meese has said he won't challenge incorporationism. Besides, the judiciary has an institutional interest in maintaining a façade of consistency. If the Pope contradicts the teachings of his predecessor, he undermines his own authority; so with the Court.

The Supreme Court seldom flatly reverses itself. Even *Brown* v. *Board of Education* didn't expressly negate *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*; it pretended to find a loophole in it, though it discreetly abandoned this fiction in subsequent desegregation rulings. Reversing a generation of liberal decisions would take a lot of sheer nerve.

The alternative is to let a huge body of bad rulings stand as part of our constitutional heritage. The Warren and Burger Courts have exploited a seldom-noticed chink in the armor of checks and balances: Most of their "historic" rulings—on segregation, abortion, pornography, school prayer, and the like—have been at the expense of state and local, rather than federal, law. After all, when the *federal* judiciary strikes down *state* legislation, the state legislature has no reciprocal control. The principle of checks and balances presupposes different branches, but at the same level of government. This is why the Court has felt free to push the states around, even to the extent of ordering them to revise their constitutions on the one-man/one-vote principle. By the same logic, the Court could require the reapportionment of the U.S. Senate; but since the Senate can defend itself against the Court, the Court has been prudent about picking on someone its own size. (In fact, the Court seldom strikes down acts of Congress, maybe for the same reason.)

One well-placed figure at Justice doesn't see incorporationism as a flaw that calls for drastic remedies. True, he concedes, Congress could take such drastic steps as stripping the Court of its appellate jurisdiction, severely limiting the range of judicial review in the future. But he thinks that sort of action is not necessary (or politically feasible).

"Everyone agrees that incorporation in *some* form is required by the Fourteenth Amendment," the source says. "The question is, how much? And even liberals don't want to incorporate the right to keep and bear arms"—which would mean banning gun-control laws along with school prayer. He is optimistic: He thinks that time will take care of the major problems with the judiciary, supplying it with men better adapted to current conditions than William Brennan. In his view, the problem is less that the Court has incorporated the Bill of Rights than that it has misunderstood it.




Kinsley points out that there are often substantive, though not direct, reversals of Supreme Court decisions. The Burger Court has nibbled at some of the Warren Court's rulings on suspects' rights, for example, and Kinsley sees it beginning to nibble the edges off its own ruling in *Roe* v. *Wade*. Effective reversal may not be far off; there are already three solid anti-*Roe* votes on the Court, Mrs. O'Connor joining Rehnquist and Byron White, the original dissenters.

Liberals in Congress are stalling on some of Reagan's judicial appointments. No Supreme Court appointee has ever been rejected expressly because of his judicial philosophy, however, and, much as they would like to, it's unlikely the liberals will dare to do so now. Sooner or later they will have to bow to political reality: Reagan isn't going to appoint judicial activists, and there will be seats to be filled.

It's amusing to hear liberals complaining about judicial activism, considering their own past. But they have never had to face the problem of unchecked judicial power, for the simple reason that, for them, it has never before *been* a problem. It has been a convenience, enacting their social agenda without the annoying constraints of democracy: legislative process and political accountability. While they regarded the Court as virtually infallible, they were glad to treat its most bizarre rulings as irreversible. Now they find that there is no day-to-day corrective mechanism against the Court, as there is against the Presidency and either House of Congress, and this raises the galling prospect of an impenetrable stronghold of conservative power frustrating their agenda and violating their dearest ideals.

At most, a Reagan Court would probably undo only a fraction of the harm done by the liberals. The Court has been ideologically packed for half a century; time is now un-packing it. The five near octogenarians (plus Douglas and Potter Stewart) made up the majority in *Roe*, whose sloppy reasoning has drawn fire even from liberal scholars. They won't be around much longer, and their successors will be unlikely to enshrine their dreadful blunders. □



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# SPIKING THE UKRAINIAN FAMINE, AGAIN

*"Give me Hollywood for six months, and I'll rule the world."* —*Josef Stalin*

ASIDE FROM the climate, the 28th International Film & TV Festival of New York was as lush and glamorous as any Hollywood bash. The festival is one of the most highly regarded in the world, with 44 countries represented in 1985. The two thousand people seated for the awards-presentation banquet in the Imperial Ballroom of the Sheraton Centre hotel represented 5,313 entrants and the cream of the industry. The BBC, ABC, NBC, and CBS were there in force. So were HBO and Turner Broadcasting.

The gold medalist in the TV Documentaries category was announced halfway through the braised beef *bordelaise* —*Harvest of Despair*, a 55-minute Canadian production disinterring the story of the man-made Ukrainian famine buried half a century ago beneath layers of Soviet propaganda and Western venality. After the presentation of the gold medals in the ten categories included in the overall TV Entertainment Programs and Specials Group, it was time for the ice-cream log *assorti* in meringue crown and the announcement of the winner of the Grand Award Trophy Bowl. Again, it was *Harvest of Despair*, judged the "most outstanding entry" of all 837 films in the group. These two awards gave the film enough points in international competitions to make it eligible for an Oscar, although too late for this year's Academy Awards.

This was last November 15. Ten months earlier, Peter Foges, Public Affairs Programming Director at New York's PBS affiliate, WNET, was pressed to explain why he had rejected the film. After a long silence he replied that it was "technically deficient" and of "dubious quality," and that it did not meet PBS's "production standards." Pressed for an explanation of what *that* meant, Foges stumbled for a moment and said, not entirely convinced himself, that the sound of horses' hoofbeats should have been dubbed into a still scene showing human corpses being carted away. (Those sound effects *are* included.)

These two incidents typify the whipsaw reaction to an extended effort to call to the American media's attention the untold story of how Soviet authorities deliberately starved to death at least seven million people in the traditional "breadbasket of Europe." Harvard University's Ukrainian Research Institute recently concluded a monumental three-year research project on the subject, headed by British Sovietologist Robert Conquest; the resulting book will be published this spring by the Oxford University Press. The Harvard project coincided with the production in Toronto of *Harvest of Despair*, a private effort that soon attracted the attention and support of the National Film Board of Canada. Independent of each other, the Canadian film and the Harvard study were simultaneous firsts concerning a subject that Harvard's James Mace said "remains as the least understood cataclysm of this century, a tragedy that has disappeared from the public consciousness so completely that it represents the most successful example of the denial of genocide by its perpetrators."

The importance and timeliness of the issue seemed obvious enough, and any one of the several threads in this story would make it a natural for broader dissemination.

There is most obviously the purely human-interest aspect —nothing less than the systematized murder of seven million human beings in less than a year, three million of them children under the age of seven. That is the conservative figure, extrapolated from Soviet statistics. That the actual number is significantly higher must be assumed, since the compilers of the first Soviet census after the famine was lifted were summarily shot for "undermining Socialism by deliberately undercounting the population." A "correct" census was immediately prepared. It is on the "corrected" version that the seven-million figure is based. The true extent of the human cataclysm is perhaps more accurately suggested by Dr. W. Horsley Gantt, a British physician who was in the Soviet Union at the time and who relayed private estimates by Soviet officials of as many as 15 million killed, fully half the Ukrainian nation, and equal to the population of all of Central America today.

In testifying before the Senate shortly after the destruction of KAL flight 007, Robert Conquest remarked that Soviet policy in Ukraine during 1932–33 could be placed in a clearer perspective by recognizing that Soviet MiGs would have to shoot down a 747 airliner every day for seventy years in order to approximate the death toll in Ukraine.

The novelty in all this is that the famine in Ukraine was modern history's first example of "famine on command." It was not brought about by drought, or crop failure, or war. One hundred thousand Communist Party activists, brought in for the task from Russia, physically removed virtually all of the food from the region. Dogs and cats vanished from the streets, as the state abruptly realized a need for their skins. Ukraine's symbol, the nightingale, was trapped and slaughtered *en masse* by the secret police. The famine was the realization of Soviet Foreign

*Mr. Paluch is a member of the Ukrainian Studies Fund of Harvard University.*



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Minister Maksim Litvinov's dictum, "Food is a weapon." It was also the precursor of starvation politics in Afghanistan* and Ethiopia.

The second thread of the story, which the producers hoped the media half a century later would have the integrity to address, was the Western media's responsibility for spiking the story originally in order to curry favor with the Kremlin. Among the luminaries of the time, Walter Duranty of the *New York Times* was the acknowledged dean of Western reporters in Moscow. He categorically denied the existence of any famine, prompting Stalin to compliment him—"You have done a good job in your reporting of the USSR"—and to reward his efforts with the Order of Lenin.†

## *Pulitzer Journalism*

THE PULITZER PRIZE Committee was of like mind and bestowed its own coveted award upon Duranty for his "dispassionate, interpretative reporting . . . marked by scholarship, profundity, impartiality, sound judgment, and exceptional clarity . . . excellent examples of the best type of foreign correspondence." In order to promote such journalism, Duranty was permitted by Soviet authorities to accompany Litvinov on his triumphant trip to the United States, when we negotiated the diplomatic recognition of the USSR at the very height of the famine.

To be sure, a few European papers, such as France's *Le Matin*, decided to publish the truth. But the American media were damningly silent, both about the genocide and about Soviet manipulation of the foreign press.

The third thread of the story is summed up in George Orwell's observation, "We have now sunk to a depth at which the restatement of the obvious is the first duty of intelligent men." It may sound tautological to repeat that "the Soviet Union" is not "Russia," but it is nonetheless necessary to do so. The USSR is a multinational federation of formerly independent nations. It is not a monolithic state, any more than is any empire. An Uzbek in Samarkand or a Latvian in Riga has about as much similarity to, or affinity for, a Russian in Leningrad as does an Afghan in Kabul. The Red Army's occupations of Lithuania and Georgia were little different from its occupation of Afghanistan, with the exception that with the passage of time the former have been absorbed into a "Soviet Union" as constituent republics. Afghanistan may yet become the 16th installment. In this light, the man-made famine in Ukraine speaks volumes about Moscow's relationship with the non-Russian nations of the USSR, which account for 50 per cent of its population. That event thus offers the West a glimpse into the practical consequence of the structuring of the Soviet Union and the centrifugal forces in it.

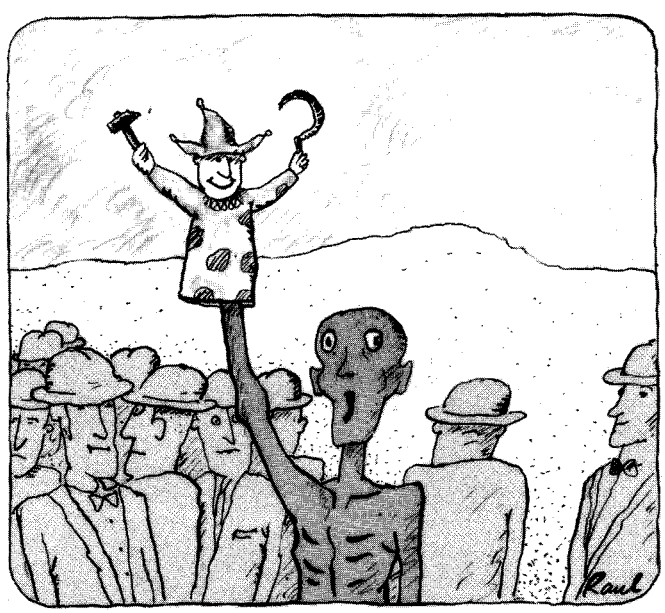
None of these issues has proved attractive to the media in the United States. At this writing *Harvest of Despair* has been shown only on two small U.S. television stations; and virtually no press attention has been given to the discoveries of the Conquest group. This has not been for lack of trying by either the *Harvest* producers or the Harvard Institute. But all their efforts have been met with the sort of embarrassingly inarticulate—or silent—rejection that suggests people are unwilling to explain their reasons for not doing the obviously right thing.

Thus, for instance, the three commercial television networks did not see fit to articulate any reason whatsoever for their rejection of the story. We have reason to believe that, at least in the case of one of the networks, a fawning concern, at the highest level, with maintaining the good graces of the Kremlin led to the network's self-censorship.

When we approached the major news weeklies, *Time*, for example, answered that "at the present time" it was not planning any stories on the subject. Asked when would be a more opportune occasion than the fiftieth anniversary of the tragedy, *Time* (after repeating that it "is not considering such an article at this time") made an abrupt change of course and said that its mandate was only to cover immediate news. This was immediately followed by another twist—"We do occasionally report historical events when they bear directly on current news . . . or if the event itself becomes the subject of renewed controversy or discussion."

The repetition of the Ukrainian pattern in Cambodia, or Afghanistan, or Ethiopia did not qualify. Nor did the recent establishment of a Joint Congressional Commission to investigate the famine and its coverup. As to waiting for a "renewed controversy or discussion," that was a rather incestuous excuse, since a discussion cannot be renewed when the story was never reported in the first place. The disclosures of the Harvard project shatter some long-held assumptions concerning the formative years of the USSR. That, certainly, should satisfy even *Time*'s tortured criteria. Presented with these arguments, *Time* made no response.

The Harvard group hoped the release of *Harvest of Despair* might make a difference. A recognized film-distribution firm in Washington, D.C., viewed the film and expressed enthusiastic interest in serving as its exclusive




*Recently, a Ukrainian in the Red Army deserted and joined the Afghan resistance. The 21-year-old private, Aleksandr Levenets, gave his reason: "Our officers said we must go into a village and kill all the people and animals, sheep, horses, even dogs and cats. But I thought it was the Mujahedin who were fighting against us, not elderly people and dogs and cats."

†In private conversations with his colleagues in Moscow and with representatives of the British Foreign Office, Duranty volunteered that as many as ten million had been killed by starvation, leading Malcolm Muggeridge to call Duranty the greatest liar he had met in fifty years of journalism.



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agent in the United States and Canada. But after the firm discussed the matter with its industry contacts on the East and West Coasts, a wall of silence descended. No explanation. No replies to inquiries. Nothing.

And then there is PBS. Its legislative mandate requires that it serve as an accessible alternative to commercial broadcasting, to provide an outlet for productions that couldn't win a place in the ratings game. Controversy, the unknown, the unorthodox were to be PBS's mainstay.

The initial reaction of PBS, summarized above, came before *Harvest of Despair* was awarded the gold medal in the first of what soon became an unbroken succession of international awards. In a follow-up discussion, the reason given for WNET's rejection predictably changed. Now, the film was "inadequately documented." This is hardly less transparent than was Foges's first excuse. It is also untoward, given that the production has been critically acclaimed as "exceedingly well documented." More than one and a half million feet of rare archival film footage were viewed, of which 720 feet were incorporated into the production. The critics wrote that "the historical documentation has been vividly assembled. One can see that tremendous research was part of making *Harvest of Despair.*"

So, when we asked what "inadequate documentation" meant, WNET said the film lacked "journalistic integrity." When we asked what *that* meant, we finally got to the heart of the matter—the "other side" of the story was not presented. We replied that this *was* the other side of the story. PBS's airing of *Harvest of Despair* would be the first time, after half a century, that the "other side" of the story finally was made available to the American public, in fullest accord with PBS's own mandate. Alas, to no avail.

In a remarkable parallel, on November 5, 1985, WPBT, the PBS affiliate in Miami, also rejected the film on the grounds that it has "a perceived bias in terms of the viewing public." (WPBT did acknowledge that the film was "interesting and well produced.") The film was submitted to WPBT after that station broadcast a documentary on Stalin covering the period from 1934 onward. *Harvest of Despair* treats the period through 1933 and seemed a logical adjunct. A request to Candace Carlisle, WPBT's Director of Program Acquisition, for an explanation or example of the film's bias has remained unanswered.

Finally, after a ten-month blackout, and on the heels of WPBT's rejection, the main office of PBS in Washington opined that the film presents only "one point of view" and that it is "subjective." This, of a film that now is in the running for an Academy Award as a documentary. Unembarrassed, a few weeks ago the PBS affiliate in Boston, WGBH, also fell into line.

PBS thus remains adamant.** *Harvest of Despair* is fatally flawed because it violates Solomonic impartiality by not giving equal time to Moscow's point of view. But what would the Soviets say? Perhaps, like those who deny the Nazi Holocaust, they would claim the famine never occurred. But no one suggests that Holocaust films be routinely accompanied by a rebuttal from the editors of *Spotlight.* Or perhaps they would use the war criminal's lament: It happened, but it was nobody's fault.

Indeed, in a Canadian television production shown on April 27, 1983, the Soviet Union *was* given equal time and said absolutely nothing new. CBC's *Fifth Estate* series, Canada's answer to *60 Minutes*, produced a twenty-minute segment on the Ukrainian famine, a full 18 months before the public release of *Harvest of Despair.* Aleksandr Podakin, from the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, appeared in the segment and was cool, calm, and collected, countering with sober reflections on the tribulations of Americans and Canadians during the Depression. The day after the broadcast of the *Fifth Estate* program, the Soviet Embassy put out a virulent three-page press release "On the So-Called 'Famine' in Ukraine," replete with the predictable litanies. In December of that year, Aleksandr Podakin finally lost his cool, after Canadian Conservative leader Brian Mulroney mentioned the Ukrainian famine in a speech. The Soviet Embassy filed a formal protest with the Department of External Affairs, branding Mulroney's speech "a 100 per cent lie." It accused Canada of violating the Helsinki Accords by attempting the overthrow of the Soviet government.

There was nothing to prevent PBS or any of the U.S. networks, for that matter, from similarly airing *Harvest of Despair* and then having a post-mortem with a Soviet representative. Certainly, the Soviet Embassy in Washington will not broach the issue so long as, in the U.S., it remains submerged.

## *Lost in America*

PERHAPS THE strangest aspect of the story is the contrast between the silence of the media in the United States concerning *Harvest of Despair* and the critical acclaim elsewhere. In addition to its sweep in the international film competitions, the film has been lauded as "a searing 55-minute documentary," "powerful," "an eye-opener," "an important film . . . it should be seen by everyone," "an unquestionably sobering film which rightfully deserves wide distribution on television," "a riveting account," "a superb chronicle," "*un film éminemment nécessaire.*" CBC broadcast the film throughout Canada last September, and European, Australian, and Japanese rights are being negotiated.

The only important exception among the critics is the *New York Times*'s Vincent Canby. Writing on the occasion of the screening at the New York Film Festival last October 10, Canby defended the *Times*'s Walter Duranty. He did not deny that Duranty lied; he criticized the *film* for not explaining why Duranty did it. He excused Duranty's perfidy by explaining (citing Harrison Salisbury) that Duranty was not a Communist ideologue but merely a "calculating careerist," as if that were a valid defense for fraud.

Canby continued: *Harvest of Despair* was visually "full of generalities." An astonishing statement. The *New York Times* first censors the printed news and then, fifty years later, complains that the visual record is too general. The remarkable thing is that there is any visual record extant in the West. (*Shoah*, the recent documentary of the Nazi Holocaust, was applauded by the critics even though it runs for nine and a half hours without using *any* archival footage.)

Canby ruled, ultimately, that *Harvest of Despair* is a "frankly biased, angry recollection" of a "hugely emotional subject." "Biased" is a serious charge to hurl at a docu-

**To their credit, the local PBS affiliates in Chicago, Illinois, and Rochester, New York, have recently aired the film.



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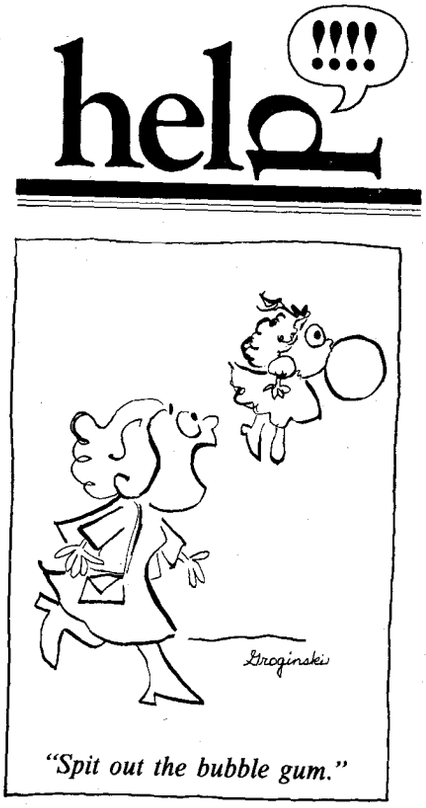


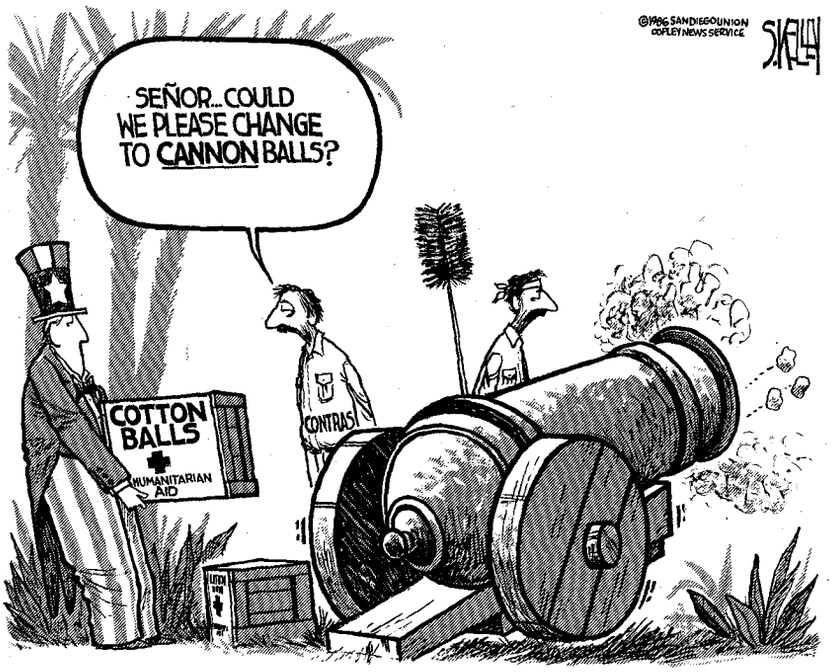
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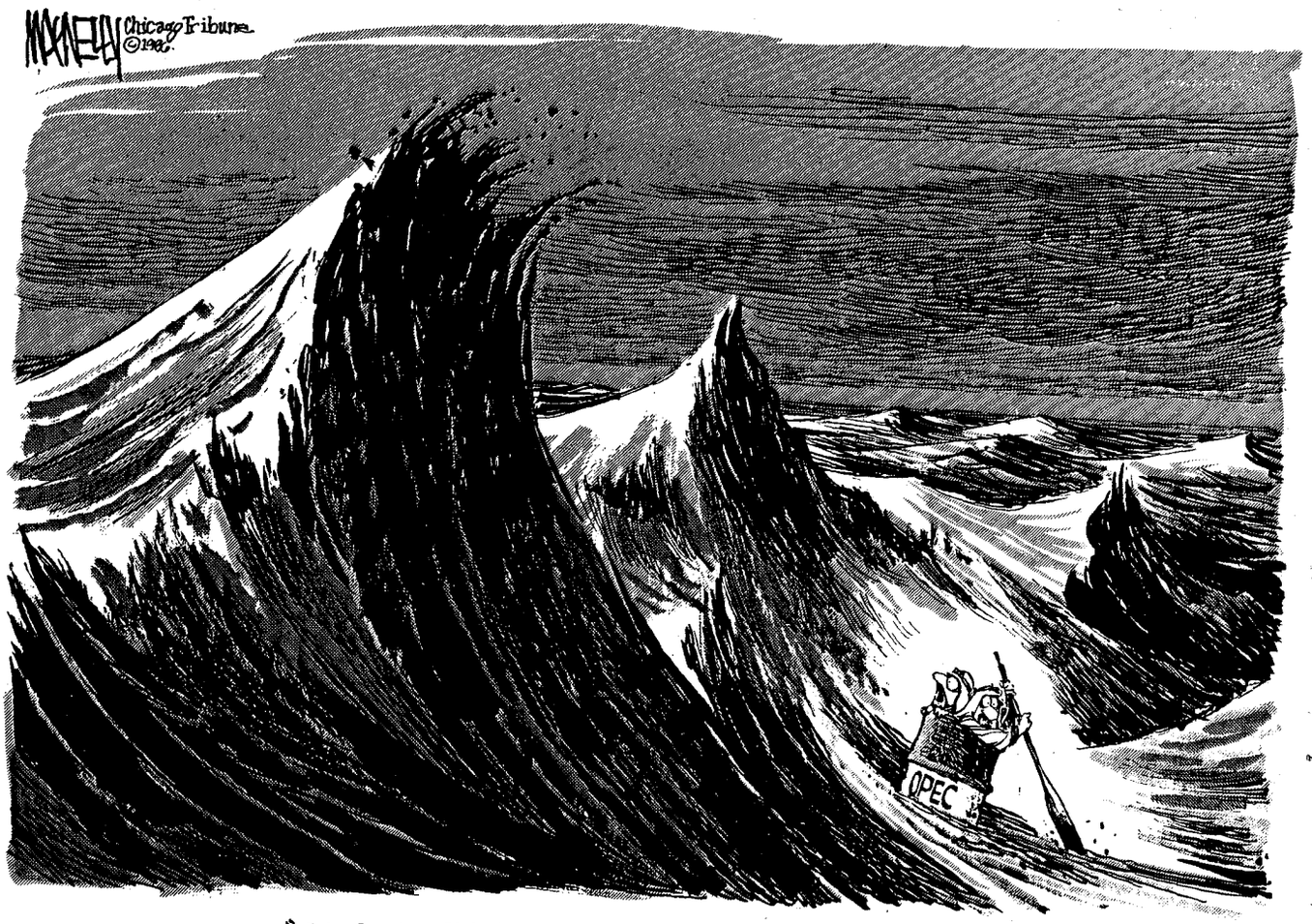


"I KNOW.... IT'S OIL ON TROUBLED WATERS, BUT WHAT DO YOU THROW ON TROUBLED OIL?"



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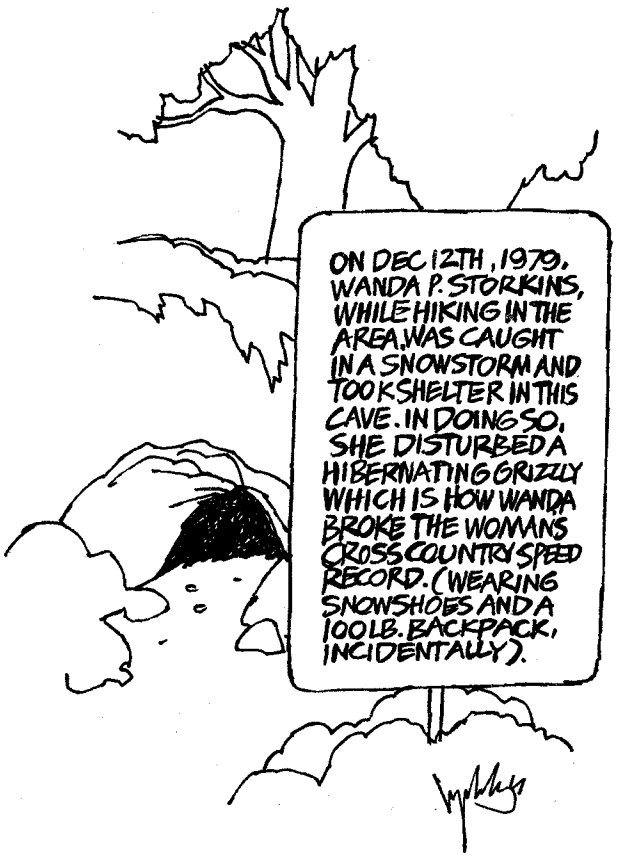
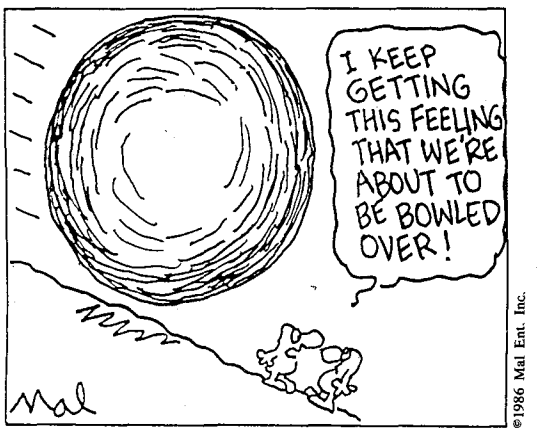

ON DEC 12TH, 1979, WANDA P. STORKINS, WHILE HIKING IN THE AREA, WAS CAUGHT IN A SNOWSTORM AND TOOK SHELTER IN THIS CAVE. IN DOING SO, SHE DISTURBED A HIBERNATING GRIZZLY WHICH IS HOW WANDA BROKE THE WOMANS CROSS COUNTRY SPEED RECORD. (WEARING SNOWSHOES AND A 100LB. BACKPACK, INCIDENTALLY).

## On Staying Dainty

Though Senator Dodd was unhappy
With Ferdinand Marcos, the threat
Of Daniel Ortega forever
Does not make the senator sweat.
The fact that he fails to perspire
Implies, and it's only a hunch,
He would have stayed dry the day "Grandma"
Wolfed Riding Hood down over lunch.

W. H. von Dreele



The dashing new jockey, Gorbachev, and his sleek thoroughbred



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mentary. But what does it mean here? That the producers disapprove of genocide? Or that they twisted the facts to make genocide appear where there was none? If it was the latter, Canby gave not a single example, nor the slightest substantiation. A letter requesting substantiation remains unanswered.

What is to be made of the particular resistance of the U.S. media? The story is clear enough. After 15 years of trying, Moscow had been unable to solidify Communist rule in Ukraine, the largest non-Russian republic in the Soviet Union. Soviet reaction to Ukrainian opposition was simple—starve the opponents. A quarter, perhaps half, of the population was driven to madness, cannibalism, and death. During the whole process, Moscow was able to muzzle the Western media, enthrall Western intellectuals, and entrance Western governments. For half a century the story remains entombed. Then, a major university study and an award-winning film expose the genocide and its cover-up, and the U.S. media do not respond. Why?

## *Lap Dogs of the Press*

As one of the few Western journalists who remained true to his public trust, Malcolm Muggeridge wrote at the time that "the man-made famine in Ukraine is one of the most monstrous crimes in history, so terrible that people in the future will scarcely be able to believe it ever happened." But, of the myriad excuses given by the American media, disbelief was never even intimated. Nor would we expect to see the line of demarcation between belief and disbelief to be so sharply drawn between the United States on the one hand, and Canada, Western Europe, and Australia on the other. Quite beyond *Harvest*, over the last three years, the famine itself has been the focus of extensive editorial and reader discussion in the major publications of those countries.

Part of the reason must surely lie in the American media's refusal publicly to admit to its especially disgraceful delinquency. But the ultimate reasons can only be the same ones that prompted the media to spike the story in the first instance. One of those is a fawning concern to maintain their good standing with the Kremlin. An indirect example of this is found in the *Wall Street Journal*, which does not maintain an office in Moscow and whose editorial policy has earned Moscow's ire. Moscow thus has no leverage on the *Journal*, and the *Journal* has publicized the direct connection between the man-made famine in Ukraine and present-day developments in Afghanistan and Ethiopia.

The other, more important reason is the pervasiveness of the very political bias that PBS was so quick to ascribe to *Harvest of Despair*. It isn't simple conscious complicity, but unknowing gullibility, that is behind the acceptance of Soviet horrors. Because this bias is often subliminal, it is all the more insidious. David Satter wrote in the October 22, 1985, *Wall Street Journal*: "The Soviet authorities understand that concessions to their view of reality weaken an adversary's ability to insist on the absolute value of anything. This is why the effort to induce the world to take their ideological lying literally is not just a question of prestige for the Soviet leaders but also a matter of political strategy. The Soviet authorities do not expect Western journalists to believe Soviet propaganda, but only to repeat it uncritically, without any effort to analyze what it means, so that, over time, the Soviet Union's ideological lying and officially sanctioned misuse of language, enhanced by the credibility of important American publications, begin to have the same numbing effect on Westerners as on Soviet citizens."

Were, say, ABC to air *Harvest of Despair* or its own documentary on the subject, it would freeze for an hour the Soviet phantasmagoria. The new image: The famine in Ukraine was not the unfortunate but unintended by-product of the overall collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union, as soporifically recited by those in the West who even concede its occurrence. In Ukraine, collectivization was completed long before the Central Statistical Office ceased publication. Long before doctors were forbidden to record deaths as due to starvation. Long before *holod*, the Ukrainian word for famine, was outlawed. Long before the Ukrainian-Russian border was sealed, preventing anyone from leaving Ukraine for Russia in search of food. Ukrainian villages starved. Russian villages a few hundred yards across the border did not.

The ensuing half-century of worldwide silence testifies to the effectiveness of the Soviet disinformation effort on a global scale. Eugene Lyons wrote bitterly that "the most rigorous censorship in all of Soviet Russia's history has been successful. It had concealed the catastrophe, until it was ended, thereby bringing confusion, doubt, contradiction into the whole subject." Concurrently, the Soviet Union achieved its greatest foreign-policy goals—America extended diplomatic recognition and the international community invited it to join the League of Nations.

Soviet brutality has never been exploited by its enemies as a way of undermining Soviet power. Indeed, its brutalities have increased its might, helping to transform it into a global superpower. "The Soviet Union is not only the original killer state, but the model one," wrote Nick Eberstadt of the Harvard Center for Population Studies.

For American newsmakers, such an image remains awkward, untimely, impolitic, inexpedient. Yet the man-made famine in Ukraine represents, as much as any one event can, the USSR's most precarious fault lines, domestically and globally. That event, half a century ago, today bears directly on issues of national self-determination, land and social reform, and indigenous cultural and religious values that are of burning concern in those areas of the world that lie in the path of Soviet influence. An understanding of the Ukrainian famine may well be the critical first step in a popular assimilation of the interaction between Soviet domestic and foreign policies, American media coverage of the Soviet Union, and our own consequential formulation of policy toward the Soviet Union.

Until that step is taken, Mikhail Gorbachev has good reason to be pleased. True to form, his cover-story interview in the September 9, 1985, issue of *Time* magazine began with *Time*'s own insights: "Gorbachev looks well tanned, just a bit ruddy in the cheek. . . . He laughs easily. . . . [His eyes] are an intense dark brown. . . . The voice is extraordinary, deep but also quite soft . . . low and melodious." That voice then broadcast to us his concern about the "hundreds of millions of people going hungry . . . We, all of us, just have no right to ignore the situation." So spoke the man who forged his career in the crucible of the once heavily Ukrainian North Caucasus. □



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# EDUCATION'S MAD SCIENCE

SUPPOSE AMERICA had a state church. Suppose this church enjoyed compulsory tithes from both believers and nonbelievers, and compulsory attendance at its rituals. Suppose it claimed the right to regulate other churches so as to make their doctrines more similar to its own. And suppose it had a seminary in Washington, formally established as a federal agency, with theologians of proven orthodoxy as its employees.

Thanks to the First Amendment, we have no such government church. But we have its equivalent in the public-school system. Its Washington seminary is the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI) at the U.S. Department of Education.* In 1980, OERI would have been near the top of any list of agencies not expected to survive the Reagan Administration. Yet today its future seems secure.

OERI is supposed to be to education what the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities are to their specialties: a source of grants and contracts for the most promising research. Though far less prestigious than these other research agencies, it is in some ways more influential: Elementary/secondary education has become a highly centralized activity, and he who speaks to state school officials, legislators, judges, and other policymakers wins leverage over teachers and children he has never met.

OERI's studies are often received as authoritative—especially a recent one it gets little credit for in public, the 1983 report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education. Though the members of this commission were mostly private citizens, its full-time staff was drawn almost entirely from OERI. By emphasizing some issues and suppressing others, its final report closely reflected OERI's values and interests. It helped to legitimize and entrench the newly created Department of Education, stall the drive for tuition tax credits and vouchers, and lay the groundwork for state tax increases to finance higher public-school budgets.

An older example of OERI's influence is the work of its desegregation-studies team, frequently cited in 1970s courtroom debates over busing. Chancellor Theodore Black of the New York State Board of Regents accused these researchers of wearing "their hearts on their sleeves; most of them are absolutely convinced that school desegregation does improve educational performance by black children without hurting that of whites, and they regularly downplay and discount any evidence to the contrary." The Reagan Administration righted this imbalance by appointing an outside task force to review OERI's studies, but the damage those studies did is largely irreversible.

OERI is not all-powerful: Its lack of interest in criticizing teachers' unions, or in loosening the grip teachers' colleges have on licensing, has not stopped others from raising those issues. But topics it favors, like educational technology, tend to catch on faster. By establishing what is and is not respectable, it helps set the agenda for "reform."

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Its employees, however, do not call themselves reformers, but scientists. Their 1972 congressional charter is jammed with terms such as "scientific inquiry," "technological foundations," "research and development." So is the rhetoric of their political patrons, such as Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who testified in 1971 that ". . . educational research is going through a quantum change in levels of methodological sophistication. . . . The history of science records many moments when persons working in a particular field have been seized with the sense that they were on the verge of a major breakthrough . . ." He reported the belief of leading practitioners that "within a decade" educational research would produce "a validated theory of learning."

OERI's power and funding depend heavily on such claims. Indeed, it is probably the purest example of a federal agency controlled by social scientists: It has almost never hired a historian, philosopher, or man of letters.

But if educational research is truly a science, it should pass certain tests. It should settle things. It should occasionally confound the expectations of its own practitioners, exploding well-established theories and legitimizing novel ones. It should provide progressively more rigorous and more exhaustive explanations, like plate tectonics in geology.

Do OERI's achievements meet this standard? In 1977 the Federal Government commissioned the National Academy of Sciences to study those achievements. The academy acknowledged that "The problems that continue to plague educational efforts, and schools in particular, are indeed an embarrassment,

*The Department of Education's research and statistics programs have undergone three major reshufflings and relabelings in the last 15 years. Since 1980 their box on the department's organizational charts has been called the "Office of Educational Research and Improvement." For simplicity's sake that is the name used throughout the article.

*Mr. Uzzell, a former assistant to the director of the National Institute of Education, is an editorial writer for the Scripps-Howard News Service.*



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especially so in the light of all that has been written and said to aid the process of education." But it still insisted that "it is also possible, if we look back, to gain some solace from the genuine progress that has been made." Ironically, from the perspective of 1986 almost every point listed as evidence for this claim helps prove the opposite.

The National Academy task force noted that "The curriculum of schools and colleges, for instance, has never been more varied in scope and variety [*sic*]." But that is precisely the complaint, not boast, of more recent studies. The task force observed that the curriculum has been "enriched" by different kinds of instructional materials: "textbooks, workbooks, films, tape cassettes, TV programs." But many now believe we would be better off with fewer of these devices and more real books, such as paperback editions of the classics.

Still more ironic today is the task force's observation that "The treatment of pupils has clearly become more humane over the years." The task force rejoiced in the disappearance of "rapped knuckles, standing in corners, sentences copied as punishment, and demerits for whispering in class." But nine years later, fundamentalist Christian schools that use every one of these punishments are opening at the rate of three a day.

The crowning irony, though, comes in the task force's discussion of the reasons for all these "advances": "Certainly, the Progressives, Dewey among them, had a hand in this development, but a fuller historical understanding reveals deeper roots to all of these ideas. Dewey's notions and those of his followers took hold, not because he had stumbled upon something new, but because he articulated what the human mind in a large part of the world was in the act of discovering—an evolving appreciation of human potential and its release through the application of reason under conditions of increased freedom." That passage makes modern educational research sound a lot more like a religious or ideological movement than a scientific one.

If educational research is a science, it should exert creative influences on other disciplines. Professors of biology and literature should from time to time be caught sneaking into lectures at schools of education, seduced by tantalizing possibilities for their own research. But in fact nearly all the channels of influence flow in the opposite direction. The *Harvard Educational Review* is read or quoted by almost nobody outside the field of education.

### *The Teacher as Missionary*

If educational research is a science, teachers who have studied that science should be better at what they do than teachers who have not. The best schools should be the ones whose teachers have taken the most courses in education methods. Teachers should remember those courses with gratitude and pride. But in fact the most prestigious schools in the country are precisely those that give the least weight to educationist training. One private boarding school in New Jersey, whose endowment and reputation allow it to take its pick among job-seekers, reported in 1984 that 95 per cent of its teachers lacked the course work then required for public-school employment.

Several years ago Professor Elliot Eisner surveyed his colleagues at Stanford University's School of Education, asking for examples of how they use educational research in their own teaching. He reported that these professional researchers "find it extremely difficult to give examples" of such use. It was equally difficult to find any features in their course materials "that might have been influenced by educational research."

Interviews with some thirty elementary and secondary educators produced similar findings. None could give "any examples of how they actually used research to make a decision."

Thus it is not surprising that the educationist seminaries sometimes seem to have more missionaries than disciples. To cope with the lack of outside interest, educational researchers invented a subdiscipline called "dissemination." The idea was that a new corps

## The Unsinkable National

When the National Institute of Education was established back in 1972, it was promoted as the most important addition yet to the Federal Government's effort to improve education in this country.

Fourteen years, $800 million, and several reorganizations later (NIE is now an office, albeit the largest, within OERI), NIE has picked up the tab for thousands of studies that have done little to help, and much to harm, American education. By funding a handful of research "labs and centers," NIE successfully bankrolled the institutionalization of the liberal education establishment.

The research portfolio at NIE bulges with waste and bias. My investigation of research funded during the past three years uncovered example after example of silly grants reeking of irrelevance:

—A study of the "illusion of knowing" to determine when and why children think they know something when they really don't. Cost: $122,588.

—A study of the social interaction of pre-schoolers (ages three to five) to show that using computers doesn't have to be a solitary activity. Cost: $168,000.

—A three-year study of why and how students seek help, focusing especially on the differences between white and black students. Cost: $752,096.

—A study of letter-writing in a bilingual school in Los Angeles. The researchers claimed that because much classroom writing instruction is done in "artificial situations that have little resemblance to writing demands in the real world," students "produce writing that is not a true indication of what they are capable of doing when motivated by real and personal needs to communicate." Students in the project were asked to write letters, which were not even read or graded by the teachers. Cost: $31,420.

—A study of the social history of reading in America from 1880 to 1980. Cost: $57,736.

Even more objectionable are the many NIE grants that reflect the prevailing political interests and ideological biases of the education establishment, from feminism to union strategy:

—An analysis of teacher pensions from 1967 to 1977 to determine the causes and consequences of "underfunding" teacher pensions. Cost: $40,033.



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of specialists would bridge the gap between researchers and "practitioners." Invoking the example of the agricultural extension agents who keep farmers abreast of the latest fertilizers, the disseminators sought a niche for themselves as professional explainers and helpers to administrators and teachers.

This new profession quickly ran into a problem. People who want to make their living by explaining things should make sure that their explanations are easier to understand than the things explained. But dissemination produces the most jargon-laden prose in education: "content-focused initiatives," "user-driven assistance," "linkage mechanisms," "client-responsive modes," and so on. Other educational researchers tolerate such prose all too readily. Indeed, they produce a good deal of their own. It takes only a few hours' browsing for a newcomer to suspect that the field's most neglected tool is the graceful English sentence.

Jargon is to educationists what Latin was to medieval clerics: the badge of a distinct class. But unlike Latin it flees precision and clarity. After several years on an OERI advisory council, George Roche, president of Hillsdale College, concluded that the agency's prose "conceals information from those who most need to know." That includes the educationists themselves: Their gobbledygook makes it harder for them to cross-examine each other or unearth their own tacit premises.

### *Educationese Spoken Here*

To the extent that other groups —such as trendy nuns and rank-and-file public-school teachers who have attended one educational "workshop" too many—use educationese, they unconsciously absorb its premises. Thus they concentrate on the mechanical skills of "language arts," not the great books; on "clarifying values," not forming character; on "process" and means, not ends. They don't discuss the educationists' eerie blend of egalitarian absolutism with moral and cultural relativism, but just take it for granted.

If educational research is a science, it should resist ideology. Its leaders should distinguish between the world as it is and as they would like it to be, and should show little patience for those who neglect that distinction. OERI's researchers have often flunked that test, especially when forced to choose between objectivity and feminism. Indeed, the record suggests that feminism is the departmental seminary's most powerful dogma.

In 1984 the American Psychological Association published an essay by Susan Klein, a Department of Education researcher. Miss Klein noted that "The APA and other psychologically oriented organizations have actively supported public and professional policies that will enhance sex equity in education. Such activities have ranged from sponsoring publications . . . to lobbying for federal legislation." She proceeded to endorse particular bills and amendments pending before Congress, and to praise "grass-roots pressure" for these bills. She concluded by calling for more "research that facilitates the development of specifically worded legislation." In other words, politics should set the agenda for research.

The Klein essay is a classic example of how ideology kills nuance. For her "the minimal role of innate biological sex differences" is not a hypothesis to be tested, but an axiom about which no further questions need be asked. If boys and girls show different career interests or different patterns of behavior in class, the only explanation worth considering is sex discrimination. It follows that educators should "give equal attention to male and female students, even when male students act in ways to demand a disproportionate share of attention."

Miss Klein's allies include David Sadker of the Mid-Atlantic Center for Sex Equity and Myra Sadker of the School of Education at America University. The Sadkers have received contracts from the Department of Education to develop and test a training program explicitly aimed at "changing teacher behavior." The avowed goal of this project is not to learn the truth, but to indoctrinate teachers in the feminist version of the truth.

*(Continues on page 60)*

## Institute of Education

—A two-year study of the impact of unions and collective bargaining on teacher contract negotiations and school policy. Cost: $113,411.

—A study of "teaching methods and race/sex equity in math and science." The research focused on how secondary-school math and science teachers influence the attitudes and performance of minority and female students in those subjects. Cost: $121,869.

—A study of recent court cases to determine how information about student achievement is used in courts and how it affects education policy debates. Cost: $33,161.

These are the latest examples in a long litany of educational research that just doesn't make the grade.

Despite its dismal track record during the past 14 years, Education officials are struggling to resuscitate NIE by repackaging it within OERI. Critics, however, hold that the reorganization is merely cosmetic. After gorging on a steady diet of federal funds, educational research has become a lumbering, lethargic beast, propelled only by its insatiable appetite for more. The proposed reorganization promises more of the same.

By congressional mandate, more than half of the yearly OERI research budget flows automatically to a handful of labs and research centers scattered around the nation. Most of these had been subsidized by the taxpayer since the mid-1960s; NIE merely institutionalized the pork-barrel. The labs and centers gobble up millions of research dollars each year—$30 million of this year's $52-million research budget—with no review.

Ostensibly to break the lab/center stranglehold, the reorganization included plans to increase competition—a term usually followed by derisive snickers from critics within the Education Department—for research dollars. But when OERI "increased competition" last November, it merely added four more labs and centers to its payroll.

The obstacle standing in the way of a conservative revolution in the Department of Education is no different from that in other federal agencies: Conservatives may be at the helm, but the engine room is still filled with liberal-establishment bureaucrats.

—Donald Lambro



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# CORRECTING THE RECORD

THE BULK of the Supreme Court's church-state opinions have tended to give the misimpression that Thomas Jefferson and James Madison embraced a doctrine of absolute separation of church and state. William Rehnquist's dissent in *Wallace* v. *Jaffree*, the Alabama "silent moment of prayer or meditation" case, offers a recent expression of the correct historical view. Justice Rehnquist's arguments are, of course, unpopular with liberals, and have been attacked by them in *The New Republic*, among other places. If I defend his position, that is in part because his historical analysis in that case drew heavily on my recent book, *Separation of Church and State: Historical Fact and Current Fiction*, which the Justice cites.

Justice Rehnquist asserted that the Founding Fathers never intended to establish an absolute wall between church and state, but instead had a narrower goal: that of prohibiting the Federal Government from designating any one national church, or asserting a preference for one religious denomination or sect over others. Liberal orthodoxy holds that the Founders sought a much larger end. "There is no doubt," wrote *The New Republic*'s analyst, expressing the liberal view, "that Madison had Virginia law in mind"—Jefferson's Statute of Religious Liberty of 1786—"when he distilled his thoughts on religious liberty into ten words in the First Amendment to the new U.S. Constitution." In fact, there is a great deal of doubt. In the first place, Madison did not even write the ten words of the First Amendment reading: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." As the *Annals of the First Federal Congress* show, Madison's own proposal was much narrower. Madison's proposed wording was: ". . . The civil rights of none shall be abridged on account of religious belief or worship, *nor shall any national religion be established.* . . ." (Emphasis added.) Even after Madison's draft was changed, when asked in debate on the House floor what the re-worded clause meant, Madison replied "that Congress should not establish a religion, and enforce the legal observation of it by law. . . ." The requests by many of the state ratifying conventions, that further religious guarantees be added to the Constitution, support both Congressman Madison's interpretation and Justice Rehnquist's dissent.

WHEN ALL the relevant documents are probated, 1785 and 1786 cannot be considered good years for absolute separationists. Acting as Jefferson's surrogate in the Virginia Assembly in 1785, Madison did introduce Jefferson's "Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom." However, on the same day—October 31, 1785—Madison also introduced Jefferson's proposed "Bill for Punishing . . . Sabbath Breakers." Both bills became Virginia law in 1786. Do these two laws taken together indicate that Madison and Jefferson subscribed to an absolute wall of separation between church and state in Virginia?

Liberals looking for separationist sentiment among the Founding Fathers often cite Madison's "Detached Memoranda." Written in his twilight years—and first published in 1946—Madison's "Memoranda" do say unequivocally that chaplains in Congress and national Thanksgiving Day Proclamations violate the Constitution. But as a member of the first House of Representatives, Congressman James Madison was one of six members of the joint House-Senate Committee that in 1789 recommended the establishment of the congressional chaplain system. Pursuant to the committee's recommendations, Congress appropriated $500 of federal tax money annually to pay for public prayers in Congress. Congressman Madison also did not object—as some others did—to the congressional resolution asking President Washington to issue the nation's first Thanksgiving Day Proclamation under the new Constitution. Finally, as President, James Madison issued at least four discretionary Presidential Thanksgiving Day Proclamations. One of those proclamations—that of November 16, 1814—called for, among other things, a day "to be observed by the people of the United States [for] public humiliation and fasting and prayer to Almighty God. . . ."

Reliance on the statements set forth in Madison's "Detached Memoranda" as the key to understanding the church-state views of the Founding Fathers—or, for that matter, even those of an earlier James Madison—is, at best, misguided. In *Walz* v. *New York*, Justice Brennan—perhaps the most absolute separationist member of the present Supreme Court—appropriately dismissed the worth of Madison's statements in the "Memoranda" when he wrote: ". . . These arguments were advanced long . . . after the adoption of the Establishment Clause. They represent at most an extreme view of church-state relations, which Madison himself may have reached only late in life. He certainly expressed no such understanding of Establishment during the debates on the First Amendment. . . . And even if he privately held these views at that time, there is no evidence that they were shared by others among the Framers and Ratifiers of the Bill of Rights."

A more balanced and accurate understanding of the "Founders' intentions" on church and state requires a careful reading of the many primary historical documents. Justice Rehnquist has invested the necessary time and thought. So should liberals. □

*Mr. Cord is University Distinguished Professor and Professor of Political Science at Northeastern University in Boston.*



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# SAVAGES

I WAS GLAD to hear that the Duvalier regime had ended. I know Haiti quite well, having been there three times under Papa Doc. These visits I risked only because I felt safe staying with the family of a diplomat; I went because I am very much interested in human psychology and in witchcraft.

Though Papa Doc, alias François Duvalier, had a U.S. medical degree, he worked hand in hand with *bokors*, the voodoo sorcerers (not to be confused with the *houngans*, the harmless priests). Talking to Catholic hierarchs and Baptist missionaries, I found that they all believed in the efficacy of sorcery. It is well known that Papa Doc had hurled the Great Curse, the *ouanga à mort*, against John F. Kennedy. Between two of my visits he had an "adversary," Yvan Laraque, executed, put the body of the slaughtered man, in bathing trunks, in a chair on the main square of Port-au-Prince, and left it there to rot in the tropical sun. Only the protest of the entire diplomatic corps made him remove it.

Fort Dimanche, his Auschwitz, certainly looked grim. (There, many people were visited by *Baron Samedi*, the supreme death-*guédé* who heralds the end of life.) And yet, the Haitian high-society people I met—mostly mulattos—were extremely cultured. They were solidly against the regime of the tyrant—who, for a very long time, was truly popular with the masses. With Baby Doc in exile, we can now say: Good riddance.

Africa, where the Haitian people wholly or partly came from, is not an amusing part of the world. During Sékou Touré's rule in Guinea, mass hangings were performed as popular feasts. Even worse were the *zenanyanas* of Dahomey, where, during the "evil nights," royal amazons slowly tortured prisoners to death for the enjoyment of the people. The tyrant of (formerly Spanish) Equatorial Guinea, Macias Nguema, tried to de-Christianize his country by closing the churches and crucifying Christian leaders. About Ghana (formerly the British Gold Coast) I was told by German engineers that they often gave refuge to young Ghanians terrified of being sacrificed at the burial of chieftains. Further east, Mulele's Simbas committed delirious horrors in 1960 in the eastern Congo: Italian Red Cross men were massacred and eaten. Genocide has been raging ever since independence in Rwanda and Burundi, racially mixed areas where Hamitic Blacks try to exterminate Bantus, and vice versa. In Ethiopia, Marxist economics have caused not only a murderous famine but also a bestialization of hearts. When high-school students demonstrated against the "progressive" regime, they were shot down like rabbits. The tyrant Mengistu Haile-Mariam was willing to surrender their corpses to their desperate parents—but not without payment, since slaughtering them had cost government funds. The "bullet money" (the official term) was twenty dollars.

The worst, however, is Uganda. At the end of the nineteenth century, one of the *kabakas* (kings) had his Christian pages burned alive because they rejected his sexual advances. (The "Ugandan Martyrs" were canonized by the Catholic Church even though not all of them were Catholics, since they died for Christian principles.) The *pax britannica* created an interlude of relative peace in Uganda, but when decolonization did its dirty work, the old evils returned with a vengeance. The first Obote regime was bad, but Idi Amin's was infernal. He also practiced cannibalism and advised his Minister of Health, Henry Kyemba, to taste human flesh—it has "a nice, salty flavor."

Unthinking readers might get the impression that my accounts are "racist" propaganda directed against black Africans. Not at all. In Aztec Mexico, up to 15,000 victims a week had their hearts cut out with stone knives in ritual sacrifices. That was in ancient times; but as recently as 1872 in Peru, two politicians, Tomás Silvestre and Marceliano Guiterez, were murdered, and their murderers then mutilated, roasted, and ate them. These cannibals were not blacks. Nor is there any reason to believe that our own remoter ancestors did not practice cannibalism. At a meeting of historians once, we debated the question of how long it took our forefathers, after they had destroyed the Roman Empire, to reach a level of civilization comparable to that of antiquity. Opinions differed, but the estimates ran between eight hundred and 1,100 years.

THE ROOTS of these horrors have nothing to do with class feelings, economic exploitation, poverty, political convictions, illiteracy, or biological factors. The innermost reason for inhuman savagery is religious. Aquinas said that the corruption of the best produces the worst. And, indeed, in the past two centuries the worst cases of inhuman baseness occurred in three of the most exalted nations of Europe: France, the "Oldest Daughter of the Church"; Holy Mother Russia; and the Holy Roman Empire of the Germans. Race has nothing to do with it. Wherever the message of Holy Scriptures is badly planted, perverted, or effaced, hell might break loose any time.

Let it be said in all candor that, while the satanic misdeeds of Marxists and Third World racists have been committed in remote or secluded spots, unobserved by the population at large, the fiendish horrors of the French Revolution took place in public, in broad daylight, applauded by the mob. The crux of evil can be summarized in the simple statement of Dostoyevsky: "If there is no God, everything is permissible." □



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# WHO KILLED EASTERN?

As Eastern Air Lines bites the dust, I cannot fail to grieve, for it was the focus, the obsession, of my father's life for the last half of his long career. Lest there be any doubt as to who was in charge, he spelled it out in big letters for the slow-witted: Chairman of the Board, Capt. E. V. Rickenbacker; President, Capt. E. V. Rickenbacker; Chief Executive Officer, Capt. E. V. Rickenbacker; General Manager, Capt. E. V. Rickenbacker. He and Laurance Rockefeller held working control of the stock, too.

The Civil Aeronautics Act had been passed in the late 1930s and served as a barrier to new competition in the airline industry. For thirty years no new airline was founded. When I finished my duties as a pilot in the Air Force and returned to New York in 1955, Laurance Rockefeller very kindly took me to lunch and permitted me to understand that my father wasn't getting any younger and it would be a good thing to have another Rickenbacker coming along in the airline.

I didn't take him up on the offer, mainly because I wasn't hankering to spend the rest of my life under the thumbs of bureaucratic rate-setters and route-plotters in Washington. I went to work, instead, on Wall Street, as an aviation analyst in the research department of Smith, Barney, a genteel old firm that had had a hand in helping Dad acquire Eastern in the 1930s. He had done well, all right: By then he had a record of unbroken profits without government subsidy of any kind, a record unmatched by any other line. In the spring of 1955 Merrill Lynch carried a smiling full-page photo of Dad on the cover of its monthly *Investor's Digest*, with the caption: "Captain Eddie and His Blue Chip." Eastern at that time had no debt, had mountains of cash in the bank, and was a blue chip in the eyes of the Thundering Herd. I don't think an airline has ever been considered a blue chip since.

Nevertheless, the industry was showing signs of senility, the kind of aging that comes from lack of competition. It was spending thirty cents out of every revenue dollar on other things than providing transportation. The frills had arrived: films in flight, hot meals, drinks; and soon there would be pianos. As an analyst, I saw an opportunity for vast improvement in the business if the airlines were allowed to compete on the basis of their transportation service instead of on the food, films, frills, and frippery they were then spending the passengers' money on.

I wrote a long analysis of the industry along these lines and submitted it for publication. The partner in charge of research came around to my desk and explained that the firm couldn't publish such a report. The reason, of course, was that SBCo. had "a historic relationship" with Eastern, and Eastern (i.e., Dad) favored the Civil Aeronautics Act and the protection it raised against the entry of new, untried, inexperienced, reckless, underfinanced adventurers, and so on and so forth. It was true: My father, the champion of free enterprise, had a soft spot in his heart for the law that made it impossible for any new arrivals to compete with him. The late William Barclay Harding, a fine man and the younger brother of the managing partner of SBCo. (Charles Barney Harding: there's the Barney of Smith, Barney), once described the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 to me as "a particularly enlightened piece of legislation."

I rewrote my analysis on plain white paper without letterhead and without signature and asked the boys in the mimeograph room to run me off thirty copies. Within ten minutes the late Nelson Schaenen (partner in charge of research) popped up at my desk again and said, "Bill, we can't even allow you to send it out on blank paper."

"This will only go to a few colleagues of mine in the business," I said, "to let them know my thoughts."

"You can't do it."

"But don't you want me to do research?"

"We also have underwriting connections," said the good man. Underwriting is where the money is. It finances the research department.

"I quit," said I, using the longest words I could find.

That evening I found myself in a cab with Bill Harding on the way to the River House for supper with him and Mary in their elegant apartment above the river. I remember turtle soup, mandarin oranges and avocado slices, the finest filet mignon, a sherbet, a cordial. I remember a conversation that went around and around, while Bill (whom I had known, like many of Dad's friends, for years) sank deeper into confusion. I remember that he finally urged in despair, "Bill, if it's only money, just tell me, and we can fix it." I remember I said, No, it wasn't money. It was the week before Christmas, 1958. The problem has been money ever since.

Eastern Air Lines was killed by many ideas and many people. Until the Kennedy Administration, no one was permitted to call into question the wisdom of the Civil Aeronautics Act. A whole industry that forgot—that never learned—how to compete has now been staring into the red bloody eye of the marketplace, and there are heavy heads and sleepless nights. Frank Borman, bumptious and dark-haired last time I said howdy to him, is now a grizzled old coon dog yapping toothlessly at his last toy animal. (Dad, faced with a Machinists' strike, ordered "some of the boys" to implant tiedown rings in the concrete aprons before the main overhaul shops

*(Continues on page 61)*



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# IN THE HOUSE OF OUR FATHERS

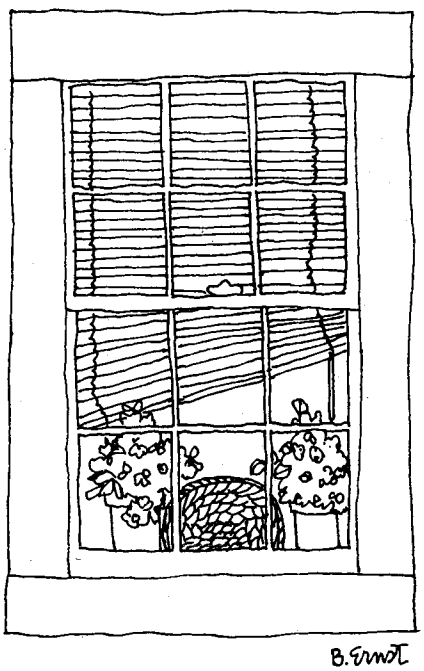
**M. E. Bradford**

*Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution, by Forrest McDonald (Kansas, 346 pp., $25)*

THE STATURE of Forrest McDonald as an interpreter of the confluence of language, thought, and action that issued in the United States Constitution was extraordinary even before the publication of his most recent consideration of that subject. Now, with *Novus Ordo Seclorum* (a title taken from the reverse side of the Great Seal of the United States), his authority is unequaled—magisterial. That the production of this book was inevitable is, in retrospect upon its author's career as an American historian, apparent. But it is an especially fortunate conjunction that the maturity of his reflection upon the sources, generation, and meaning of our fundamental law came in the season naturally set aside by his countrymen for commemoration of the *fons et origo* of our national identity. At a time, moreover, when the very possibility of understanding our origins is, for the first time, in dispute: denied for essentially partisan reasons, as a license for judicial arrogance disguised as modest skepticism, by such influential jurists as Justice William Brennan.

The rediscovery of our constitutional inheritance is, of course, a continuing process, a labor regularly interrupted by anachronism and ideology. It is a battlefield where the cost of being misled or misinformed is the loss of those liberties for the protection of which our forefathers raised up a frame of government, a shelter that has almost miraculously survived the rigorous pounding of these last two centuries. An academic undertaking with such potent implications for partisan politics is never easily accomplished, and yet no other intellectual enterprise is of such importance to the internal order of the Republic (and therefore to our survival as a nation) as the study of our political beginnings. In pursuing it through several phases (some of them detailed in the preface to his new work) McDonald has produced six significant volumes, bringing his work to a new level of sophistication and thoroughness in *Novus Ordo Seclorum*. For that reason the book is of inestimable value to any responsible citizen who cherishes a structure originally well made by the members of the Great Convention but now concealed by the special alchemy of "construction." Or at least this is true for those among us who continue to believe that it is possible to "gauge accurately the intent of the Framers on the application of principle to specific, contemporary questions"; and who also believe that with such possibility comes the obligation to anchor judges in law, not law in judges.

Professor McDonald cuts the ground from beneath the feet of those (Ely, Tribe, Perry, Dworkin, Miller) who would read the Constitution as a "blank check"—as the product of a "spirit of system" that would not accommodate "public arrangements to the confirmed habits and prejudices of the people." He makes short shrift of the theory that the Union came together in an agreement to fulfill, over time, "the buried promise of the political religion of equality": an agreement to fall back, on a regular basis, to "first principles" or (as the modern apologists describe them) "higher values." He also finishes off the related theory that the Constitution is an aspirational unfolding toward the New Jerusalem of anterior, abstract truth concerning human nature: a footnote to the Declaration of Independence. In answer to such tendentious blather he reasons as did Pierce Butler of South Carolina, who said of overly ambitious proposals for the Constitution, "the people will not bear such innovation," and "it is better to follow the example of Solon, who gave the Athenians not the best government he could devise but the best they would receive."



McDonald's masterpiece is the reconstruction of an intellectual milieu, which leads to an explanation of persons and events and thus to a com-

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*Thomas P. McDonnell is the editor of* Through the Year with Thomas Merton.

*Jeffrey Meyers has published biographies of Katherine Mansfield, Wyndham Lewis, and Ernest Hemingway.*

*David Rooney teaches at Hofstra University and is the chairman of the New York Catholic Forum.*

*Carl R. Schmahl is pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of King Ferry, New York.*



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mentary on the nature and significance of what was agreed upon in Independence Hall and later approved by the states. He begins by detailing some of the limitations on the ingenuity of the Framers that are either acknowledged by implication in their conduct or overtly rendered in the language of their debates, in their writings, or in the anti-Federalist literature of their critics. The most important purposes of the Framers were, of course, those announced in the Preamble to the Constitution, to "secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity"—a promise that carried with it a protection for life and property, a preparation for common defense, and a devotion to justice, peace, and the common good. These purposes in some respects excluded other objectives, but required of the Framers their commitment to some species of republicanism, even though they wanted only "government of the sort to which they were accustomed" and came to republican forms "as the nation did, which is to say late and willy-nilly, with neither a historical nor a philosophical understanding of what they were embracing."

Another authority whose shaping influence on the discourse of the Constitutional Convention is acknowledged is that of history as precept, heritage, or process. Political, social, and economic theory reinforced these elements of a "given" intellectual situation surrounding the discourse of the participants. Within such boundaries was the Constitution crafted, despite the fact that ingredients related in fostering its composition were in their own right incompatible: a "compact among political societies," a "government that would itself be governed by laws, and laws that conformed to the genius and circumstance of the people."

McDonald is at his best in summarizing the relevant political theory of the eighteenth century; and on the political economy known by the Framers he has, among American intellectual historians, no equal. But even more important than his command of this literature is his awareness of just how useful such materials were in drafting the Constitution—how important and how insignificant. What he says regarding the impact of the teachings of Adam Smith on the political behavior of American readers characterizes the attitude of the Framers toward explanatory systems and philosophical propositions in general: that they "blended the parts they approved with ideas and biases they had previously entertained, and thus ended up with something different from the original."

Theory was a necessary part of the idiom of the original American politics, a component that affected but in no way controlled the results of the long conversation held in Philadelphia in the spring and summer of 1787. But more essential to that process, and to the 55 men who had a part in forwarding it, were the lessons of common experience, "both their own and that of the mother country," which "provided a surer guide" for prudent men naturally suspicious of rationalist abstractions. To demonstrate what he intends by this distinction, McDonald follows the operation of major concepts through the period leading up to the Great Convention and then into the formation of parties within that assembly: the influence of ideas interacting with the institutional and personal realities of an American society already in place and functioning for more than 150 years when these sages took thought to make out of it something new: but, because James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and James Wilson did not have their way—because wiser and more temperate spirits prevailed—not too new.


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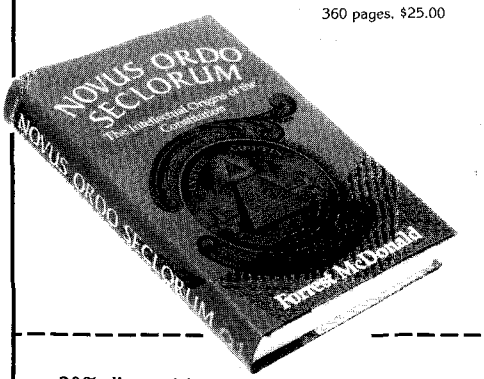


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The fruits of McDonald's labors will now stand as obstacle and impediment in the path of those who would reconstruct the American past into a sanction for present mischief and worse tinkering yet to come. The authors of such malice will have to get around Forrest McDonald—if they can. Conservatives in particular should therefore salute his achievement as not merely an intellectual feat but an unparalleled act of service to the Republic, looking toward the kind of national self-understanding which the Fathers hoped we might someday achieve within the great edifice they left in our keeping. ☐

## RANDOM NOTES

☐ DUE IN MARCH: In *Evasions: The American Way of Military Service* (Paragon House, $17.95), Philip Gold explores the gap between the United States' military commitments and the manpower available to fulfill them, the philosophical and historical justification for conscription, and "the destruction of the concepts of military claim and obligation as legitimate aspects of citizenship."

☐ COMING IN APRIL: In *Sacco & Vanzetti: The Case Resolved* (Harper & Row, $16.95), Francis Russell describes how, while researching an earlier work (*Tragedy in Dedham*, 1962), he became convinced that in the Sacco-Vanzetti murder case Sacco, at least, was guilty: conclusive proof of which, he claims, is to be found in material submitted to him by a member of the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee. As with all of the author's work, the present book is rich in social, historical, and personal detail, as well as in its rendering of milieu.

*Japan's War: The Great Pacific Conflict* (McGraw-Hill, $19.95), by Edwin P. Hoyt, traces the origin of the Pacific war to the nineteenth century to make the point that imperialist and expansionist tendencies on the part of Japan followed, directly and inexorably, from the practice of emperor worship. Quite interestingly, Hoyt presents much of his book from the Japanese, rather than from the Allied, perspective.

Brian Roberts's *Randolph: A Study of Churchill's Son* (Hamish Hamilton/David & Charles, $29.95) offers some explanations for the failure of Randolph Churchill to live up to the expectations of his father, who had predicted that Randolph was destined to become "a great man."

*Selected Essays of R. P. Blackmur* (Ecco, $17.50), edited by Denis Donoghue, brings together 14 of the critic's best essays. . . . *Selected Letters of Charles Baudelaire: The Conquest of Solitude* (Chicago, $25), edited by Rosemary Lloyd, is a very interesting epistolary collection by a poet who disliked writing letters. —CW

## BEYOND INFANT DOE

### Carl R. Schmahl

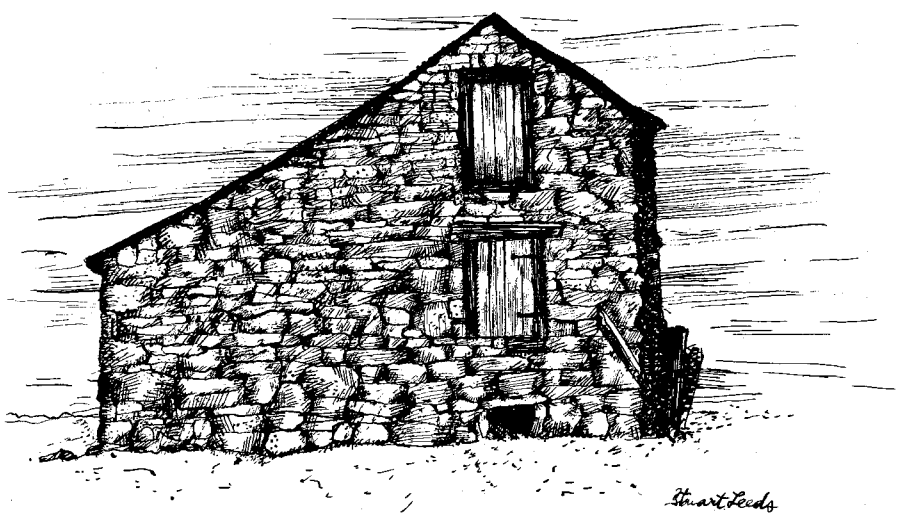
*Selective Nontreatment of Handicapped Newborns: Moral Dilemmas in Neonatal Medicine, by Robert F. Weir (Oxford, 292 pp., $27.95)*

IN APRIL 1982 a severely deformed baby boy was born in Bloomington, Indiana. Known to the public only as "Infant Doe," the baby became the center of a stormy controversy when his physicians found themselves divided over the question of his treatment. One group wanted to transfer him to Riley Children's Hospital in Indianapolis, where they anticipated positive results from surgery; another group, less optimistic about the baby's chances, felt that no extraordinary measures should be taken to save his life. When the baby's parents were consulted, they chose to keep him in Bloomington, without surgery and without intravenous feeding.

Over the weekend that followed, the administrators of Bloomington Hospital tried to obtain a court order to override the parents' wishes, but the judge ruled that "the parents had the right to withhold medical treatment in order that the baby would die." An appeal to the Indiana Supreme Court also failed, "apparently because [the justices] were concerned about second-guessing physicians on medical matters." Prosecutors then planned to appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court and were en route to Washington when Infant Doe died, on the seventh day after his birth.

The Infant Doe case generated wide publicity and much comment. It also raised a host of unsettling questions about medical technology and our attitudes toward those on the fringes of life: Are there times when death would be preferable to severely handicapped life? Should all available medical means be brought to bear on seriously deformed infants? Who decides for life or death—the parents? physicians? the courts? In this book Robert F. Weir, a professor of religious studies at Oklahoma State University, examines these and other questions, and concludes that there are times when infanticide or "selective nontreatment of handicapped newborns" is "in the best interests of the child."

The problem of infanticide is as old as the human race. In times past, infants were left to die of exposure if they were female and unwanted or if the family could not support them. Deformed babies were thought to be "changelings," servants of the devil, and were often beaten to death in attempts at exorcism. Unrecognized bastards were consigned to the tender mercies of homicidal wetnurses or overcrowded foundling hospitals where their chances for survival were slender at best. Even today we read of newborn babies found abandoned in dumpsters or alleyways, victims of their own mothers. If acts of infanticide have anything in common it is this:



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"The younger the child, the more vulnerable to acts of destruction."

Although the problem is an old one, the high level of life-sustaining technology available to modern physicians in neonatal intensive-care units (NICUs) provides "the modern context for instances of infanticide." Some 200,000 infants each year are admitted to NICUs with deformities of varying degrees. In the overwhelming majority of these cases the infants either die from their afflictions or respond to treatment and eventually return home. In some cases, however, infants die because a conscious decision has been made by NICU physicians, generally in consultation with the parents, to withhold treatment.

The decision to withhold treatment from seriously defective infants depends on the medical evaluation of each case and the personal values of the physicians involved. While "a national survey of pediatricians and pediatric surgeons revealed substantial agreement with a policy of selective nontreatment," there is little consensus as to when treatment should be withheld. Raymond Duff of Yale-New Haven Hospital, for example, would treat "the vast majority of children with handicapping abnormalities or diseases," but would withhold treatment "if there is little or no prospect of brain function sufficient to allow a personal life of meaning and quality . . ." Where deformities are so severe that the children involved have "little or no capacity to love or to be loved," Dr. Duff believes that "choosing death sometimes is viewed as an act of love because some life can only be wrongful." During a period of thirty months after a policy of selective nontreatment was instituted at Yale-New Haven, 43 infants died after treatment was withdrawn.

A far different opinion is held by Dr. C. Everett Koop, U.S. Surgeon General and former surgeon-in-chief at Children's Hospital in Philadelphia. Dr. Koop faults many of his colleagues for overestimating the severity of defects and for basing their judgment on the impact a defective infant may have on its family. For Dr. Koop, "the question which must be answered is not 'Should we treat?' but 'How should we treat?' " As a Christian, Dr. Koop holds the firm belief that all life is a sacred gift from God, which leads him to withhold extraordinary meas-


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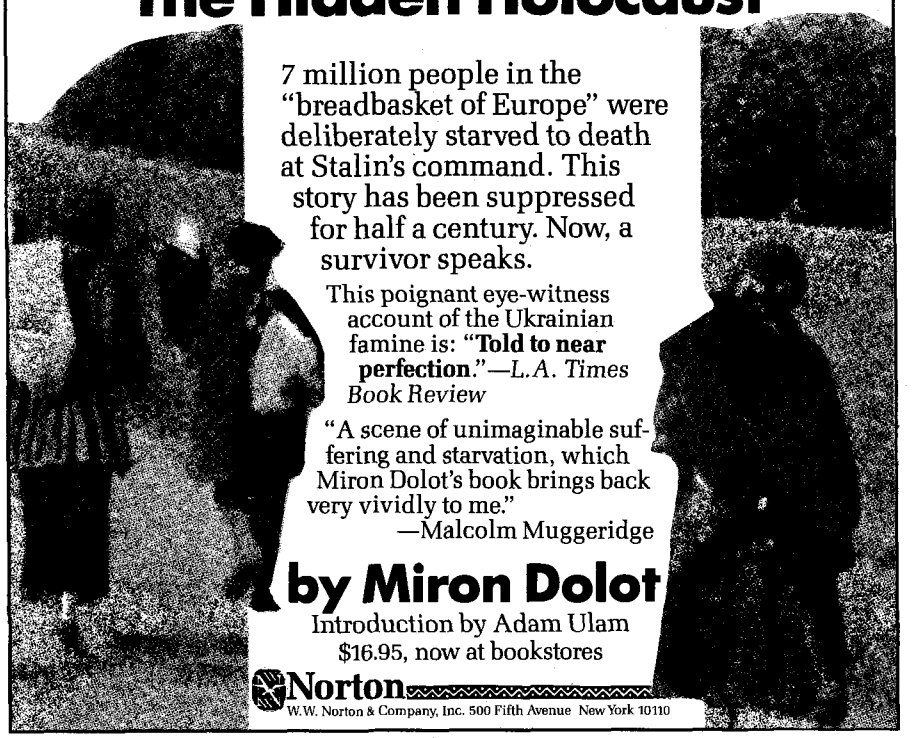

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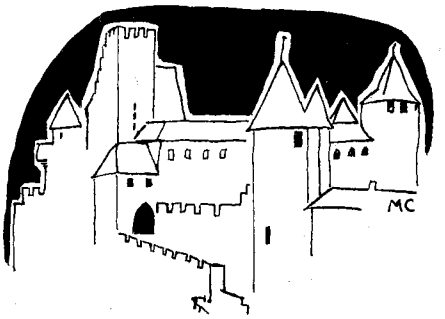
ures only from infants whose maladies are "terminal regardless of their age." Quality-of-life considerations do not enter into treatment decisions, because "disability and unhappiness do not go hand in hand"—"there is remarkable joy and happiness in the lives of most handicapped children," even though many of them have handicaps that he personally "would find difficult to endure."

It is not possible in a short review to examine the opinions of the other pediatricians cited by Mr. Weir. What is important to remember is that many infants die each year because doctors and families lack consistent, clear legal or ethical guidelines. This confusion and uncertainty extend to the legal community, which has not yet made up its mind whether to enforce existing criminal sanctions more vigorously, to legalize euthanasia in cases where infants suffering from "severe, incurable, and irremediable medical conditions" would be "better off dead," or to give more discretion to parents and physicians.

Nor is there consensus among ethicists. At one end of the ethical spectrum is Paul Ramsey, formerly of Princeton University, who believes that quality-of-life considerations should not be the basis for withholding treatment for two reasons: first, the deformed infant "inevitably loses out in the comparison with a normal infant who will have a 'life worth living' "; second, we further devalue the lives of birth-defective children when we assume that "a particular human life is replaceable by another." Ramsey would replace quality-of-life standards with an "equality-of-life" principle, whereby decision-makers emphasize "the equal and independent value of each and every young life . . . regardless of their state or condition." Physicians are encouraged to focus on the medical indications for treatment, asking, "Will a particular medical procedure succeed, regardless of the infant's other problems?" Generally speaking, "for virtually all . . . nondying infants, whether defective or normal, parents and physicians have a moral duty to provide treatment."




Mr. Weir aligns himself with those ethicists who believe the focus of attention should be on the best interests of the child: "As potential persons, neonates have *prima facie* claims to life and medical treatment necessary to prolong life. Although there are some instances in which these *prima facie* claims are justifiably overridden by other considerations, such considerations should have only one focal point: the best interests of the anomalous child. No potential or actual child should be deprived of life without good reason . . ." What circumstances would constitute a "good reason" to deprive a child of life? Mr. Weir discusses four: a "prognosis of *extremely short life expectancy*," which he defines as death within the first year of life; conditions for which there are "*no curative or corrective treatments*" and which mean "progressive neurological and physical deterioration that is simply impossible to prevent or minimize"; "*serious neurological deficiencies*"; and a "*multiplicity of other serious medical problems*" (emphasis his). When these conditions exist, the decision to withhold treatment should be made by "a serial ordering of decision-makers" including the attending physician, the parents of the child, a neonatal-intensive-care-unit review committee, and, in some cases, the courts.

Mr. Weir has written a book that deserves to become a standard text in the continuing debate on infanticide. However, this reviewer ultimately disagrees with the assumption that one person can ever decide that another human being would be better off dead. Once the sanctity of life is lost we find ourselves on a very slippery slope, exposed, as Jacques Maritain said, "to the mercy of all the devouring forces which threaten the life of the soul, exposed to relentless actions and reactions of conflicting interests and appetites." □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# TOWARD A CATHOLIC AMERICANISM

## David Rooney

*The American Catholic Experience, A History from Colonial Times to the Present, by Jay P. Dolan (Doubleday, 454 pp., $19.95)*

DURING THE second decade of the nineteenth century, an especially troublesome anti-authoritarian movement threatened to rend the small Catholic community in the United States. A number of Catholic laymen, and not a few priests as well, were demanding that the power to appoint and depose priests be vested in the laity, whose authority derived from their financial support of the Church. Soon they began advocating the election of bishops by popular vote, and, in addition to excoriating the recently revived Jesuits, they denounced the exiled anti-Revolutionary French clergy in the U.S. as aliens, and ultimately renounced their allegiance to the Pope.

The movement reached its apogee in 1819, when dissidents in South Carolina attempted to persuade a popular Irish priest to present himself to the schismatic Jansenist Archbishop of Utrecht for consecration, and then come to the United States to spearhead a newly envisioned "Independent Catholick Church of the United States."

Eventually the plan fell apart, but the incident is instructive as a reminder of the baneful effects that the siren call of American republicanism can have on those who do not recognize that the Church is a supranational entity, a universal communion of believers. For a corollary of the axiom that the Church will operate within any type of political arrangement (even within Communist states, as the German historian Hansjakob Stehle has documented in his study on Vatican-



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Soviet relations) is that its life and government find no model in American pluralism.

The so-called "Catholic Americanists" feel otherwise. Their emphases may change from age to age, but their fundamental thesis is the same: In order to be accepted in American society, the Church not only must exist alongside peculiarly American social and political institutions (a necessary step) but must alter its structure and, for some reformers, even its beliefs to conform to the norms decreed by an ephemeral majority of the American people.

Jay P. Dolan, a Notre Dame historian, typifies the 1980s-style Catholic Americanist in *The American Catholic Experience*, which purports to be a social history of the Church in the United States. His sympathies lie completely with the lay-trustee agitators of the early 1800s, though he fudges some of the details, preferring instead to take issue with all earlier historians by characterizing that movement as "the most successful example of how Catholics adapted their Church to the American republican ethos." That ethos was ruffled by hordes of Catholic immigrants, whose devotional Catholicism is disturbing to Dolan. He rails against their adherence to Church authority, their preoccupation with personal sin and individual salvation, and the piety that they brought over as so much religious baggage from a paternalistic European model of the Church.

But it is the controversies at the turn of the century surrounding the eruption of the best-known movement of Americanism in the Church, and the later condemnation of theological Modernism (a mélange of ideas associated with European writers like Loisy, Tyrrell, Murri, and LeRoy), that offer the greatest temptation to facile interpretation, a temptation to which Dolan eagerly succumbs. He castigates Pope Pius X, whose actions against the Modernists "destroyed the budding renewal of Catholic theology" and "cast a gloomy pall over Catholic intellectual life throughout the world." Now, American Catholics were virtually unaffected by theological Modernism at that time. Even the leading exponent of political Americanism in the hierarchy, Archbishop John Ireland, heartily endorsed the anti-Modernist encyclical, as historian Neil Storch has recently shown. And the most thoughtful of European Catholic scholars (such as Batiffol, Lagrange, and Schmidt) also applauded the clearing of the air that Pius X's action forced.

Dolan, however, parrots the fashionable fictions about Modernism to divert attention from the deleterious effects of the earlier Americanist social movement of bullied assimilation, which stunted what could have been a much more fruitful twentieth-century flowering of Catholic intellectual life in this country. That flowering was instead isolated in the German-American Catholic community, hemmed in by the bigotry of World War I propaganda and the postwar Americanization program eagerly adopted by much of the Catholic hierarchy. Consequently, American Catholic thought after the 1920s was largely dominated by derivative pragmatists like John A. Ryan and Francis Haas, both unquestioning followers of Rooseveltian social policies, and more interesting but quirky individuals like Father Coughlin or Dorothy Day. A few sensible men, like James Gillis of *The Catholic World* and some of the *America* Jesuits, could be heard above the din of mediocrity. But the lack of a powerful center (out-


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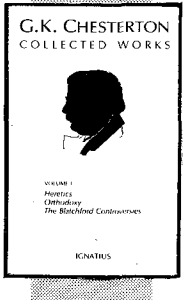


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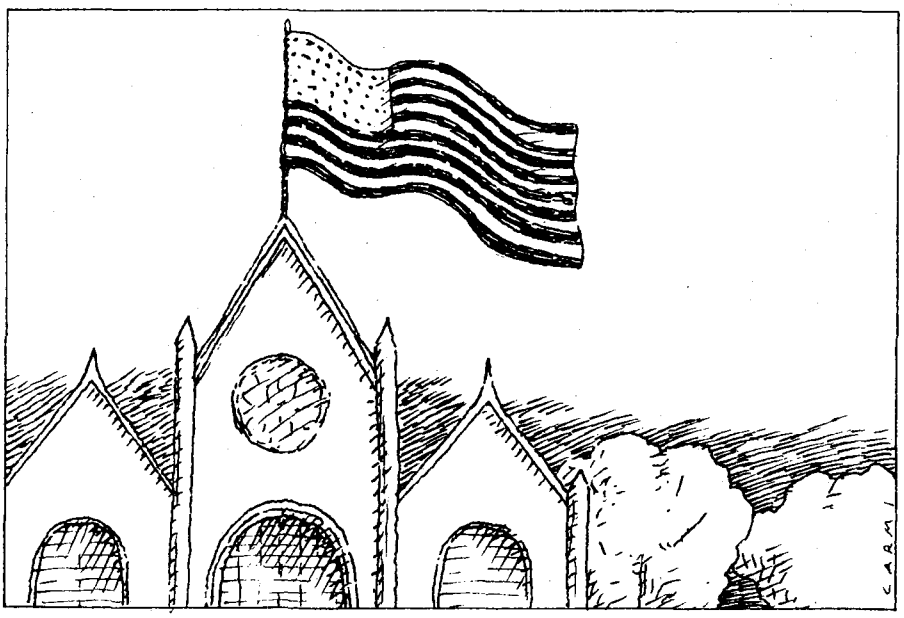

side the German sphere of the socially conscious layman Frederick P. Kenkel) for Catholic realists is a regrettable feature of the twentieth-century Catholic landscape.

But even social Americanism is no longer sufficient to satisfy the tastes of assimilationists of the 1980s. Dolan, in his chapter on "The Catholic Reformation, 1960–1984," relishes the dismemberment of "Mass and sacraments" Catholicism, and its replacement with democracy in morals and dogma. Not surprisingly, he scarcely notices the virtual disappearance of whole branches of Catholic scholarship (one need only catalogue the demise of Catholic publishing firms to prove it) and applauds the effluvia of colleagues like Richard McBrien and Charles Curran. And he regards as innovative the creation of sluggish bureaucracies of bishops, priests, and nuns that have effectively resisted Roman supervision and have confused the laity in the U.S. over the past twenty years. In sum, he hails all the signs that would herald the birth of a new "Independent Catholick Church of the United States."

Dolan is a competent sociologist, as his two earlier monographs demonstrate. And there is a fair amount of valuable information in the present work (particularly on religious practices of the various ethnic groups in the nineteenth century) for the reader who is already conversant with American Church history. But *The American Catholic Experience* is no substitute for an adequate social history of the Catholic Church in this country. Indeed it is much less successful than the earlier historical surveys of Thomas McAvoy or James Hennesey. Its scholarly value is vitiated by Dolan's clever but less than candid selectivity of material, and by a pervasive air of smugness that cannot conceal his inability to comprehend the nature of the Church, and thereby to soberly assess its historical unfolding within the American milieu. □

# THE SPIDER'S TOUCH

## Jeffrey Meyers

*Alexander Pope: A Life, by Maynard Mack (Norton/Yale, 975 pp., $22.50)*

MACK'S BIOGRAPHY of Pope (1688–1744), which evolved from a lifetime's study of his subject, is elegant, learned, and definitive. The narrative is slowed by massive detail and interrupted by commonplace remarks unfavorably comparing the modern to the Augustan age. But Mack provides a rich picture of the social and political background, especially of the Jacobites' threat to restore a Catholic monarch, which persisted for half a century, and which prompted their Protestant Whig opponents to victimize (among many others) Pope's friend Bishop Atterbury, in a scandalously rigged trial in 1723.

Mack is also good on Pope's friendships with authors, ladies, and noble lords of taste and wit. He illuminates the controversies that attended Pope throughout his life: his quarrel with Addison ("Who but must laugh, if such a man there be? / Who would not weep, if Atticus were he!"); his translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (of which the scholar Richard Bentley said: "It is a pretty poem, Mr. Pope, but you must not call it Homer"); his edition of Shakespeare's plays—a badly botched job, "far more the result of overconfidence [in textual emendations] than of sloth"; and the publication of his bitter satire, *The Dunciad*, "the greatest folly of Pope's life."

Mack offers sound but unoriginal readings of the poems and reminds us that, after Shakespeare, Pope "contributed more to our common language than any other poet." He also examines Pope's astonishing technique and diversity of tone, which ranged from the erotic wit of *The Rape of the Lock* ("Oh hadst thou, Cruel!, been content to seize / Hairs less in sight, or any Hairs but these!") and the subtle sensitivity of *An Essay on Man* ("The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine! / Feels at each thread, and lives along the line") to the inquisitive arrogance of the inscription on the collar of the Prince of Wales's puppy ("I am his Highness' Dog at Kew, / Pray tell me Sir, whose Dog are you?") and the savage pride in the power of the satirist in *1738* ("Yes, I am proud; I must be proud to see / Men not afraid of God, afraid of me").

The book is exceptionally good value at the price, for it has nearly a thousand pages, a hundred illustrations, a full cloth binding (of hideous orange), and a handsomely printed text virtually free of errors. Virtually, but not entirely: The financial calculations on page 268 are inconsistent; Pope is portrayed as a rat—as the legs, feet, and claws reveal—rather than as an ape in the engraving by Van Kruys; and Bosch and Brueghel are Flemish, not Dutch, painters.

The keys to Pope's complex character—shot through with evasiveness and aggression, deceit and reckless courage, hatred and magnanimity—lie in his faith and his disease. As a Roman Catholic, he suffered humiliating exclusion from most national institutions and turned to writing as an alternative to the careers that were closed to him. Mack concludes that the moderate Pope was "capable of deep sympathy with friends more Jacobite than he [and] of secret hopes when an invasion loomed; obviously affronted by in-



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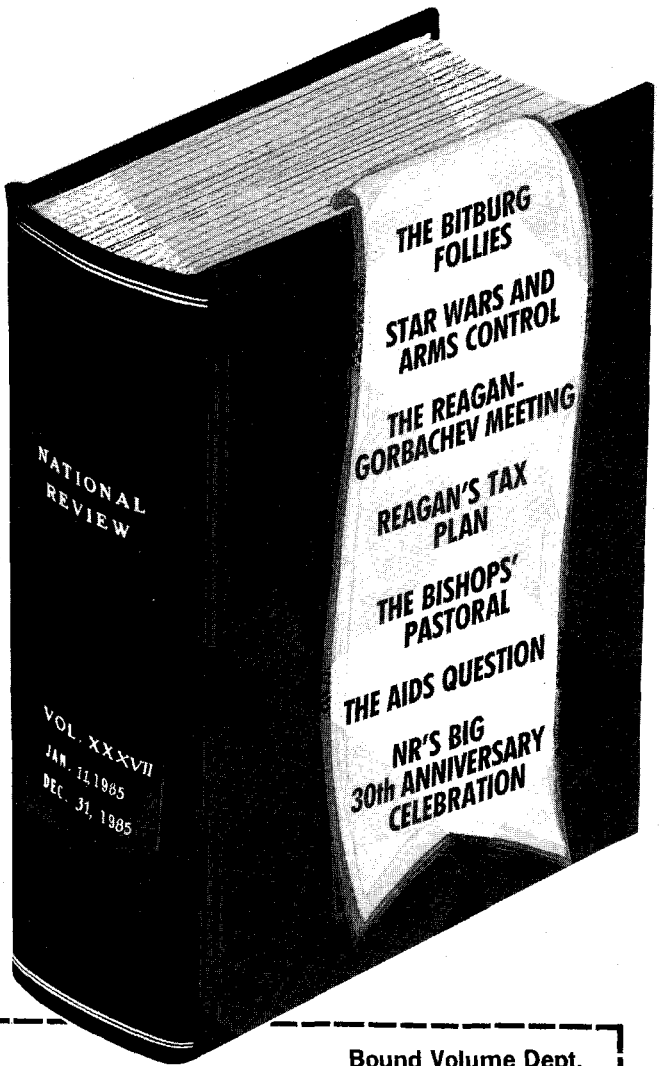


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discriminate legalized oppression, yet stoutly opposed to the kind of agitation that might bring on social unrest and civil war."

From his devoted wetnurse, Pope contracted tuberculosis of the bone. This terminated his growth at four and a half feet, turning him into a dwarf and a cripple; caused serious respiratory problems as his spine and vertebrae collapsed; and forced him to wear a stiff canvas bodice so that he could stand upright. Like Swift, Flaubert, and Eliot, though with more justification, he regarded the body as an abomination and sought aesthetic absolutes as an alternative to an existence that frequently filled him with loathing.

Pope, a genius in the use of venom, was quite capable of breaking a butterfly upon a wheel and crucifying the homosexual Lord Hervey in a couplet; "Beauty that shocks you, Parts that none will trust, / Wit that can creep, and Pride that licks the dust." But he saw himself as a champion of public virtue and defended personal attacks by arguing that "General Satire in Times of General Vice has no force, & is no Punishment: 'tis only by hunting One or two from the Herd that any Examples can be made."

*The Dunciad* and other lacerations of folly and vice cost him dearly: "His shape, his parents, his politics, his religion, and his character had all been year after year crudely and cruelly attacked." He was mocked as a hunchbacked toad and ridiculed by Colley Cibber, who supposedly led Pope to a bordello and, while the "terrible Tom Tit was pertly perching on the Mount of Love . . . fairly laid hold of his Heels, and actually drew him down safe and sound from his Danger." (Cibber's pamphlet inspired an obscene engraving of the anecdote.)

Worst of all was the savage retaliation of his sometime friend, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who had been disfigured as an adult by smallpox. Provoked perhaps by her brutal rejection of his passionate proposal, he described her as one whose victims were "Pox'd by her Love, or libell'd by her Hate." She responded with a poison that matched his own and could corrode his heart:

*But as thou hat'st, be hated by Mankind,*
*And with the Emblem of thy crooked Mind,*
*Mark'd on thy back, like Cain, by God's own Hand;*
*Wander like him accursed through the Land.*

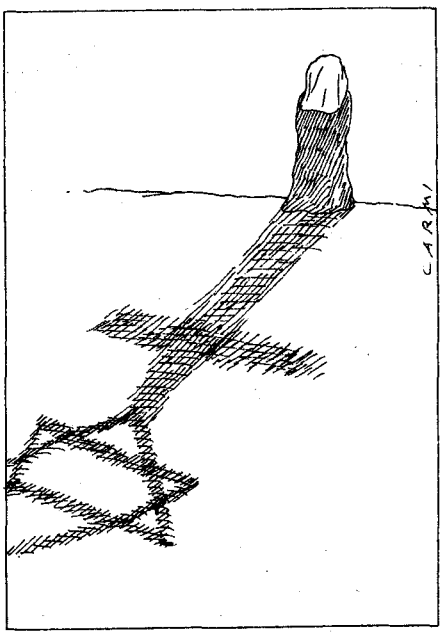
Pope surely suffered more abundant and vicious abuse than any other writer in history; he could not take a public stroll without his Great Dane, Bounce, in attendance, and his pistols in his pocket. □

# A SAINT TO COME

## Thomas P. McDonnell

*Edith Stein: A Biography, by Waltraud Herbstrith (Harper & Row, 127 pp., $16.95)*

It is increasingly clear that Edith Stein, the philosopher, mystic, and Carmelite nun who lost her life in the death camps of Auschwitz, was one of the truly remarkable women of this century. Her capacity for abstract speculation was deep and brilliant in a field where the female contribution has not been outstanding; indeed, her special value as a philosopher derived from her feminine perspective in areas historically dominated by men. Unlike most philosophers, however, who have presumed that their philosophies are the answer to everything you ever wanted to know about anything, Edith Stein's thinking came to that point of anguish which informs the mind that thinking itself, or mere rationality, can go no further. She then proceeded to become a saint.



A biography of this yet uncanonized saint, *Edith Stein*, by a Carmelite nun named Waltraud Herbstrith, has just been published here and serves the long-standing need in this country for more information about this extraordinary person. The enthusiasm of the publisher's blurbist, however, gets a little out of hand, leaving the impression that this is a brand-new biography of Edith Stein. It is in fact a translation, sometimes infelicitous, of the fifth German edition (1983), here expanded. As a volume of less than 130 pages, neither can it claim to be definitive, lacking the richness of biographical detail that would be needed to present the subject in the similitude of a life actually lived.

God knows, if anyone does, that Edith Stein's life was actually lived and freely given in a most holy and awesome way. And yet Waltraud Herbstrith's *Edith Stein* is largely a Carmelite nun's version of a Carmelite nun—a study, *par excellence*, of intellectual development and spiritual progression, but one from which we would never learn whether Edith Stein herself, a vibrant and very existential Jewish woman, ever sat down to a human meal and talked about human affairs. Did she ponder the theory of phenomenology so relentlessly that she never picked a flower? It was indeed the aim of phenomenology, as a reaction to the neo-Kantianism of the period, to redispose the mind to a contemplation of real objects in a real world. Anyway, this is what we want to know about saints and potential saints—not how holy they were but how human.

It nevertheless remains a fact that what was most human about Edith Stein was the quality of her intellect. You sense this most vividly in the stunning photographs of her that are available today. As Sister Teresa Benedicta of the Cross, Edith Stein is no doubt the greatest Carmelite nun since her namesake in religion, Teresa of Avila herself. In her very young girlhood, however, Edith was now and then something of a spoiled brat. She knew too much. But at some point in the process of her individuation, as Carl Jung would put it, she came to the realization that her gifts were of such an order that they would have to be used not only with discretion but with a compassionate dispensation.



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She turned to teaching and excelled in that field.

It was to philosophy, however, that Edith Stein was inexorably drawn. After majoring in philosophy at the University of Breslau, the city of her birth, she pursued doctoral studies under the phenomenologist Edmund Husserl at the University of Göttingen. Phenomenology is a grand word that means looking at things very closely and with an objective passion for the truth. Edith was so brilliant in this endeavor that she was appointed Husserl's assistant. Still, there was something missing in Husserl's philosophy, which Edith's searching mind found at last in the work of Max Scheler—another phenomenologist, to be sure, but one who saw through the prism of a Catholic conversion. It was Scheler, indeed, who was also to influence the future pope, Father Karol Wojtyla. Years later, Pope John Paul II would speak on Edith Stein's behalf in memorial rites at Auschwitz.

Though demonstrably brilliant in her field, Edith Stein was turned down in her applications for a faculty position at the University of Breslau and at the University of Freiburg. She had given lectures worth reading today on the role of women in Christian life and education, but her applications were rejected not on that account, nor because she was herself a woman. In 1931, the Nazis were sufficiently powerful to promote the anti-Jewish prejudice they would officially escalate three years later upon taking full control of Germany. Even before the terrible *Kristallnacht* of November 9 and 10, 1938, Sister Teresa Benedicta knew that the Nazis would pursue her to the very end. She requested a papal audience in hopes of convincing Pius XI to issue an encyclical on behalf of the Jewish people in her homeland, but the request was refused, and all she got was a benediction for herself and her family. On the other hand, the danger of the Church's speaking out strongly against anti-Semitism was demonstrated when the Catholic bishops in Holland did just that; as a result, Edith, who had by then escaped to Echt, was rounded up with other Jews and eventually sent to Auschwitz, where she was gassed to death on August 9, 1942.

Waltraud Herbstrith's *Edith Stein* is certainly the best, if not the only, account we have had of the uncanonized


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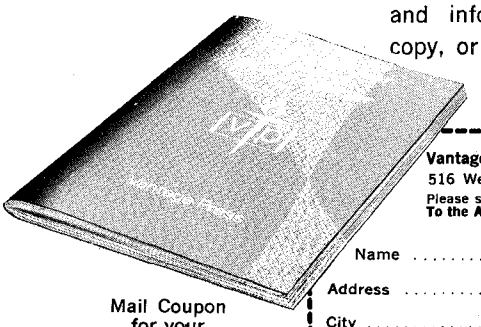

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saint since Hilda C. Graef's *The Scholar and the Cross* (1955) went out of print. But so much more is needed—starting with a collection of her letters and the publication in this country of all her works. Edith Stein's life was so dramatic, from its origins in the Jewish life of her family (the conflict with Frau Stein over her daughter's baptism in the Catholic Church was shattering) to the hounding of her by the Nazis, that it would require a playwright of the Shavian rank to do it justice. It is heartbreaking to realize that Edith Stein was offered sanctuary in a Carmelite house in Switzerland but refused to go when she learned that her sister, Rosa Stein (also a convert), would not be allowed to accompany her. Edith Stein was a woman of the greatest and purest integrity. Though Nazi Germany killed her, she was indisputably Salesian; though a Carmelite nun, she never disowned her Jewishness. She exemplified at last in her unique vocation, as Waltraud Herbstrith puts it, "the merging of Judaism and Christianity into a single redemptive unity." □

# DELECTATIONS

## TREASURES AND THEIR HOUSES

### Nika Hazelton

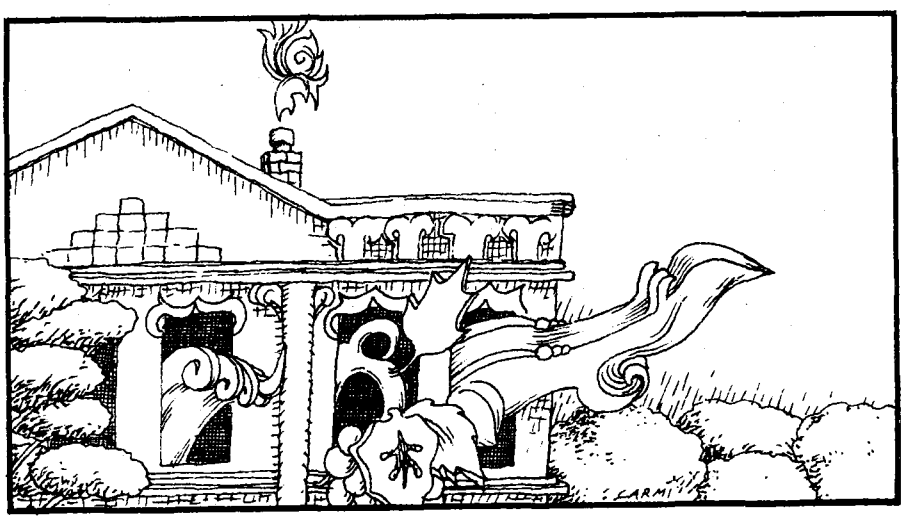
KEEPING UP with the Joneses seems to be the overriding preoccupation of the United States' major museums these days. At the moment, I have to say the National Gallery is ahead, thanks to its "Treasure Houses of Britain" exhibit—alas, just closed—which was a splendid museum exhibit as such, but an even more splendid evocation of a way of life that is still struggling to survive the twentieth century.

"Treasure Houses of Britain" brought together some seven hundred objects from more than two hundred country houses of the United Kingdom. But instead of grouping them in modern museum fashion—eighteenth-century paintings in this room, sixteenth-century furniture over there, and cabinets full of objects, all the vases together, then the silver, then the jewelry—the organizers of the exhibit took the East Building of the National Gallery and transformed some 35,000 square feet of space into 17 galleries, halls, rotundas, and so forth, with the objects and works of art arranged just as they would be in a room in a real country house. That is to say, the museum's rooms do not attempt to duplicate specific rooms in specific houses, but they do create a more natural context for the art, using wallpaper, for example, instead of starkly painted museum walls, and hanging the paintings above pieces of furniture, which are themselves splendid to look at.

The displays include paintings ranging from Rubens and Canaletto to those English favorites, Stubbs and Landseer; silver (I especially fancied the toilet service made for the Countess of Kildare in the early 1700s); porcelain (some lovely Sèvres and Chelsea); and the best bric-à-brac of the arts, complete with some splendid tiaras, like the one from Woburn Abbey, a design of glittering diamond English wildflowers set on quivering stems—a wonderfully lovely wearable mobile. Every picture was cleaned and restored to its pristine beauty; every object looks as it was meant to. The Ford Motor Company contributed well over a million dollars, but I feel sure that preparing the exhibit must have cost much more, with private parties filling the gap. (Not to mention the cost of preparing the catalogue, which even at $30 paperback, $60 hardbound, could not possibly pay for itself.)

But beautiful and instructive as it was—and despite the effort to use natural rather than museum settings—this show did not give a real-life impression of the British country house; it ought really to have been called: British Country Houses as They Should Be. Even among the houses that are regularly opened to the public (and most of the great houses could not have survived otherwise, since that is the only condition on which the government will forgive the ruinous inheritance taxes), a place that is actually lived in will be at once less perfect and more authentic than even the most "natural" museum exhibit. Think for a moment of the horrible fact of how much stuff most of us manage to accumulate in just a year, and then multiply that over several generations. There is seldom either the money or the inclination to clear up the confusion so long as the place is reasonably respectable-looking, comfortable, and functional. When there *is* money, it's more likely to be needed to repair the roof—indeed, the odd painting or piece of sculpture may need to be sold to get the money to pay for the roof. Not to mention the fact that when you're sharing quarters with the artistic accumulation of centuries, you're apt to forget what you have, as a number of Great House owners found out when the show was being put together.

Critics of this show have rushed to point out that part of the purpose was to give the owners of these houses an economic boost—and why not, indeed? To retain their unique historical value, these houses must be kept intact. An empty house, however splendid its architecture, has no life—as is demonstrated by the endless glorious but empty palaces and mansions in France and Italy. Granted, some of the houses in Great Britain that are open to the public look like interior decorators' showcases; but there are still enough of them unsullied by the professional decorator touch, where the family real-





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ly live among their dusty and run-down treasures. After all, people who are *it*, as the owners think, do not need a decorator to tell them what to do with their homes. □

# THE GIMLET EYE

## EDUCATION OF A PLAYWRIGHT

### D. Keith Mano

My WEDDING VOWS were somewhat irregular. By implication, anyway, they went, "I promise to love, honor, and write you at least one momentous dramatic role." My wife, Laurie Kennedy, is sheer thermite on stage: she has Tony and Drama Desk nominations, not to mention her Clarence Derwent Award for best Broadway performance. But here we were, wed since 1980, and I hadn't yet consummated the relationship on paper. My wife was, I thought, ready to sue for divorce on grounds of theatrical abandonment.

So, rather peevishly—what would a novelist know about drama?—I began first-drafting *Resistance*. It was drawn from old fiction themes strewn here and there on the gob pile of my mind. You have this Solzhenitsyn-size writer imprisoned for his Christianity and anti-Communism. And a KGB colonel who must re-educate him. Two very different priests. Give me credit, I didn't write about ARC or the Holocaust.

In one sense, I found, play writing is easier than a digital readout. After all, it took me nearly one decade to perpetrate my last novel, and just three weeks for *Resistance*. Quicker, but more intense: intense as calf cramps. You can call timeout at a paragraph end in narrative discourse and go have some Raisin Bran. But dialogue between three characters, say, is seamless and organic. You jeopardize the creative metabolism by so much as a hesitation to rephrase and polish. And you can't conveniently evict these interlopers from your head. I entertained my garrulous *dramatis personae*, bourbon or Placidyl notwithstanding, through half a night.

And, predictably enough, there are genre differences. When writing fiction


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I fight toward precision in language. Even ambiguity should be exact ambiguity. Yet plays came to our house that seemed careless, dead flat in their diction. Most, of course, were. But play writing by nature is more potentiality than definitive art. Yes or no dialogue, flaccid and repetitive speech, can give actor or director crucial latitude. There are moments when hand gesture and double-take become part of syntax. When the pause will be not a lapse but an essential opening, when dullness is instrumental. My own discipline—a novelist must act as performer/director/lighting man—often led me to finish what should have been mere preparation and cue. Play creation is always fluid: that, I discovered, was the most alien, exasperating thing about it. I didn't easily trust.

Much of *Resistance* was (and still is) absolute first draft. Why rewrite, I thought, if you don't know what you've written to start with? By then *Resistance* had become my wife's chore. And we learned that play writ-

# THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

"THERE IS A sexually transmitted disease," wrote Dr. Olav H. Alvig in *American Medical News*, December 20, 1985, "with a very long incubation period, that is life threatening, and incurable. AIDS? No, syphilis, prior to 1945. It was defeated by routine epidemiological techniques. Everyone was tested when hospitalized, married, or inducted into the armed forces until the affected were identified, counseled, and all contacts followed. Prior to this public-health effort, syphilis filled one-half of the hospital beds in the United States, just as AIDS will do in five years unless the Federal Government changes its lackadaisical attitudes. Syphilis never had civil rights. Why is AIDS different?"

The reasons why AIDS is different are explained in a comprehensive and alarming little book, *AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome* (Summit Ministries Research Center, Manitou Springs, Colo. 80829; $3.95), by David A. Noebel, Wayne C. Lutton, and Paul Cameron, which manages to sample and comment upon, in a brief 149 pages, the best (and worst) that has been written about the rake's progress of this twentieth-century plague in the United States. AIDS, the authors warn, is becoming the "first politically protected disease" in history, owing to the fact that America's most recently accredited minority group (with whom the disease is, in this country anyway, predominantly linked), abetted by the media, the "art" world, the federal bureaucracy, and a species of subpolitician, has succeeded in misrepresenting the origins, nature, and gravity of the epidemic in the interest of protecting the "civil rights" of infected individuals, and the at-risk class in general.

If there is anything more offensive than the "anti-hysteria" tape made some months ago by Joan Rivers for an organization in Minnesota—beginning with "Can we talk?" and proceeding with withering contempt to a parting injunction to more than two hundred million nervous heterosexuals to "grow up!"—I can't think what it might be. The truth is that the latest findings about the disease suggest that AIDS is a far, far greater threat than it was originally thought to be. Today, approximately 16,000 cases of AIDS have been diagnosed in this country, where another 1.75 million people are suspected of carrying the infection. Last October, Dr. A. D. J. Robertson of the Research Testing and Development Corporation, writing in the *Wall Street Journal*, estimated that, if the present rate of increase obtains over the next four years, by 1990 484,000 people in the U.S. will be dying of the disease, and *64 million* more will be infected by the virus.

"Educating the general public," the present writers conclude,

> about homosexual behavior and its relationship to AIDS . . . is absolutely essential if we are to stem the tide. Yet, homosexual propaganda is so subtle and pervasive that many Americans are still confused about homosexual behavior and its link with AIDS. First, the homosexuals were able to disguise their fatal disease by renaming GRID [Gay-Related Immunodeficiency Disease]. Second, they were able to dub AIDS the 4-H Club disease—Haitians, hemophiliacs, heroin users, and homosexuals—further diluting their responsibility for the terrible situation. . . . Their latest move is to direct everyone's attention to African heterosexuals now infected with AIDS. Next it will be tied to the CIA or KGB. Until the public realizes that AIDS and homosexuality go together like smoking and [lung] cancer the battle against this disease will be lost.

Despite the fact that all studies show homosexuals to possess a thoroughly sophisticated understanding of the disease and its causes, the homosexual community continues to throw caution to the winds; one gay spokesman stated recently on public radio, "In 1981 we drew back and became more sexually conservative because of fear of the AIDS epidemic. Now we have decided that certain death is preferable to dull sex lives." Obviously, the sole concern of sodomites is the preservation and protection of the homosexual way of life; which makes "the battle against AIDS . . . not just a battle against a plague, [but] a battle against a philosophy"—a philosophy that has been endorsed by, among others, the National Education Association, the National Organization for Women, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

If, therefore, this catastrophic disease (for which, owing to its extreme mutability, many experts believe no cure is possible) is to be contained, it will be left to the federal and state governments to do it, through such means as denying homosexuals as a class civil-rights standing, enforcing anti-sodomy laws in states where they are still on the books and reinstating them in states where they are not, forcing municipalities to close down homosexual bars, bathhouses, and bookstores, and quarantining carriers of the virus. Despite the admirable record the American Government established at containing previous epidemics, the Feds have not (in the interest of avoiding "hysteria") got off on a strong foot (the federal Centers of Disease Control, for example, do not list AIDS as one of those dangerous contagious diseases for which aliens are excluded from arrival in the United States); and, in Congress, "the pro-homosexual constituency . . . is primed to make sure that no anti-homosexual legislation surfaces no matter how fiercely the AIDS plague rages." Still, there is time for a change of heart, or at least of policy—though probably not much. □



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ing is expensive. Artistic directors don't return your manuscript. They pour coffee on it and scrawl indelible cuneiform marginalia. For every cut I made (the first reading ran over three hours) a clean copy had to be produced. Postage and photocopying cost more than $1,000. But, to my bewilderment, Linda and David Laundra, who head Writers' Theatre, and, later, Nikos Psacharopoulos at Williamstown each put on staged readings. No novel of mine has gotten that much response. Then again, my wife isn't in publishing.

Mind now, I consider collaborative art to be an oxymoron. And writing, I soon understood, had been the easy part. In fiction your characters speak as you want them to speak: not the way some *actor* would like them to speak. How can any playwright (let alone any first playwright) defend his text and yet be flexible with a cast that is both brilliant and far more experienced? I've had some marvelous performers for *Resistance*: Austin Pendleton, Brian Clark, Dwight Schultz, Josef Sommer, Beatrice Straight, my wife, all of whom worked more or less gratis. The page-to-stage transition is like a dreadful teething. Only once did I feel certain of myself. A walk-on actor playing the guard took me aside one afternoon. "You know," he said, "this man's attitude is central. He represents the people. I suggest you add a few lines . . ." He thought my play should be called *Resistance, or The Guard's Dilemma.*

Frankly, I became an apprentice alcoholic during our two-week rehearsal period. Not that Writers' Theatre and Linda Laundra (who directed) didn't protect *Resistance*: they were nourishing and careful throughout. But the creative process, I believe, should retain mystery. Or some decent privateness at least. I never explain, for instance, what a symbol or structural element means in fiction I've written: danged if I'll provide gossipy New Criticism of my own work. Art should stand (or not stand) without autobiographical reference or crib sheet. Nonetheless, when your actors ask for clarification, you must attempt to clarify. I loathed the constant prying interrogation. And, worse, I often had to fake outright. After all, it is embarrassing when you say, Well, actually, I wrote those lines because they sounded nice. Try to motivate an emotional speech on that frail evidence.

Yet there were sharp glories, and such as I have never felt in authorship before. At dress rehearsal, for the first full time, my wife uncoiled magic. *Resistance* became fire and a unanimous show of hands. Her great scene, I knew, worked. This was my woman, those were my lines, and there is no more exquisite intimacy in marriage. She had given me a love gift so dynamic and joyous that I was left powder-burned with adoring.

Yes, things went well enough. *Resistance* may have a future. There is, as they say, interest in it. People assure me that I'll write another play and I tell them no. I mean it. I doubt that I could endure (or afford) such cooperative misery again. But more than that, I'm a playwright now. I know too much about the genre (and, of course, conversely, too little). I've lost my innocence. Any new effort would be self-conscious and flawed by art. *Resistance* works, when it works, because I wrote it at no stake—full of passion and chance-taking and naïveté. I was protected by my own comprehensive ignorance.

Then again, it could've been worse. I could've married an opera singer. □

# BOOKS IN BRIEF

*Sinatra: An American Classic, by John Rockwell (Rolling Stone, 251 pp., $29.95)*

WHATEVER ELSE he is, Frank Sinatra is undoubtedly a very great artist, the Fischer-Dieskau of popular song; only Fred Astaire comes anywhere near Sinatra's way with a song, and Astaire never could hold a candle to him in matters of bel canto. (Mabel Mercer is *hors concours.*) So it's perfectly appropriate that *New York Times* music critic John Rockwell's coffee-table tribute to Ol' Blue Eyes emphasizes artistic matters and downplays—without altogether ignoring—the problem of Sinatra-as-heel. "Frank Sinatra is by any reasonable criterion the greatest singer in the history of American popular music," Rockwell assures us, thus establishing his critical credibility; he is equally correct in calling *Only the Lonely* "Sinatra's greatest album" and in singling out "One for My Baby (And One More for the Road)" as the standout track on that extraordinary recording. His appreciation of Sinatra is acute and infectious, a few gratui-

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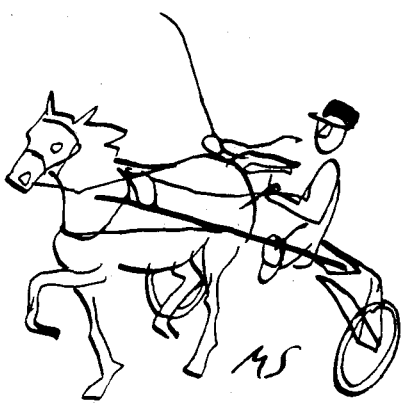
tous references to the likes of Sid Vicious and Bruce Springsteen notwithstanding. The illustrations, all 157 of them, are wonderful, especially the photograph of Sinatra leaving a recording studio at three in the morning: alone, back to the camera, the embodiment of transcendental saloon singing. The discography is useless, the bibliography short but informative. Had Garry Trudeau read this book before drawing that fatal "Doonesbury" strip, he might have understood why Ronald Reagan had no qualms about pinning a Medal of Freedom on Frank Sinatra. On the other hand, maybe Trudeau is tone-deaf. TERRY TEACHOUT

*The Temptation of Wilfred Malachey, by William F. Buckley Jr. (Workman Press, 45 pp., $10.95)*

IN HIS FIRST acknowledged attempt at writing for children (although some might consider *Up from Liberalism* written for another sort of child), Mr. Buckley has made a smashing success. Wilfred Malachey is the poorest student at a boys' boarding school that faintly resembles Mr. Buckley's boyhood alma mater, Millbrook. Wilfred, as it turns out, is as bright as he is poor. To make ends meet (Wilfred's parents can barely afford tuition), he tutors a fellow student (all right and proper), but then starts writing exam papers for him (not so right and proper)—and eventually turns to outright Robin Hoodery. Do you suppose Wilfred (and hence the reader of this book) learns the lesson that honesty is the best policy in an ordinary way? Heavens, no. Mr. Buckley has taken a computer (it's an IBM, naturally) and made it the means of communicating with a powerful spirit that can grant wishes—but only if it thinks them appropriate. The lord of this computer is called the Omegagod. Not since the Oz books, and the various contraptions the Wizard assembled, has morality been taught in such a high-tech, yet human, way. Mr. Buckley has a natural feel for his audience (children eight to 13). He is informal, informative, fun, and not in the least patronizing. There's a lesson about *something* hidden on every page. (I, at last, understand what an isosceles triangle is, which Wilfred explains during hockey practice one day.) The book, as is true of most top-drawer children's books (E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web* comes to mind), is as much fun for adults as it is for children. If you give this book to your son or daughter—or niece or nephew—you might find yourself borrowing it back for a few pleasant hours. (There are several wry comments that only the most advanced juvenile reader would latch onto.) *The Temptation of Wilfred Malachey* is beautifully illustrated by John Gurney, and is highly recommended. Is it too much to hope that we have the first of a series here? PETER A. MCWILLIAMS

*The Oxford Book of Military Anecdotes, edited by Max Hastings (Oxford, 514 pp., $17.95)*

ALL THE great ones are here, although Hastings, a British historian, is predictably a little light on American anecdotes. His collection, he writes, is meant "to divert and entertain by exploring the margins of experience. . . . I have sought stories that illuminate the condition of the soldier through the ages in barracks and on the battlefield." There are episodes of drollness and of whimsy, of black humor and of irony, of bravery and of the terrible and arbitrary nature of battle. Perhaps the best are the mad dashes: the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava, or of Churchill's 21st Lancers at Omdurman. Hastings notes, "The curse of British cavalry, throughout its history, has been its inability to know when to stop charging." Here are the Rough Riders taking Kettle Hill, and here is the German machine-gunner who, in the closing minutes of World War I, blazed away his remaining ammunition belts, then stood up, doffed his helmet, and took a bow. The topper of them all, however, might be the true story of the 1879 fight at Rorke's Drift, Natal, South Africa, where 140 British soldiers successfully held off more than four thousand Zulus, and won 11 Victoria Crosses, the most ever given for a single battle. The engagement was later turned into the remarkably accurate Michael Caine movie, *Zulu*. War is all hell, as General Sherman said, but it is also terribly cinematic. JOE MYSAK



**UZZELL**

(Continued from page 41)

The Sadkers candidly admit that their minds are not open on these issues. Several years ago a professional journal invited them to comment on claims that educational researchers had accepted the feminist agenda too uncritically. They did so with enthusiasm, not disavowing such bias but extolling it. "What is the other side of this issue?" they asked. "Is it that equity is not a good idea? That hormonal differences make sex bias socially acceptable? That discrimination against women is to be encouraged? Professional journals have not printed articles such as 'The Advantages of Anti-Semitism' or 'Speaking Up for Racism.' Is the absence of these articles also indicative of the left-leaning bias of professional journals?"

This reply makes it clear that the Sadkers flunk the most basic test of science: the test of falsifiability. No backwoods preacher insisting on the literal inerrancy of Scripture, no Soviet botanist parroting the lessons of Lysenko, could be more willfully immune to contrary evidence. Nevertheless, they have repeatedly been subsidized by a federal agency that justifies its appropriation in the name of scientific research.

Like other dogmatists, the feminists seek to rewrite school curricula in order to stack the deck in their own favor. Here, too, they have had help from Washington. In the late 1970s, for example, OERI spent $4 million to develop "Freestyle," a multimedia kit explicitly designed to change the feelings of nine- to 12-year-old schoolchildren about sexual roles. Its core is a series of half-hour television shows that consistently portray traditionalists as bigots and modernists as victims, never the reverse. In one episode, a spunky teenage girl overcomes the prejudices of a gas-station owner to get a summer job as a grease monkey. There are no comparably sympathetic portrayals of women victimized by



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prejudices against chastity or religious piety, or of full-time mothers humiliated by arrogant careerists.

In a supposedly pluralistic society, this sort of thing has implications worth pondering. "Freestyle" plays to a captive audience. The captors retain monopolistic privileges because the rest of us assume they will tread carefully on divisive moral and social issues, and not take sides. Suppose the Reagan Administration were to subsidize a program that force-fed Phyllis Schlafly's values to the children of feminists. Susan Klein and the Sadkers would instantly become eloquent defenders of minority rights against government thought control; and they would be right.

But unfortunately, these educationists inhabit a cultural universe that in its own way is as provincial as any truck stop in Alabama. Like other provincials, they do not merely reject other people's values—they have trouble seeing that there *are* any values, or intellectual freedoms worth defending, other than their own.

The concept of "science" serves a crucial purpose for these provincials. Since it implies absolute truths that are equally valid for all, it is the most potent tool available in a secular society to discredit critics, cow skeptics, and control everyone else. One of the richest ironies of modern education is that the least tolerant theorists are those who claim most forcefully to be scientific.

Three years ago one of OERI's founding fathers published a searching reappraisal of its principal component, the National Institute of Education. Chester E. Finn Jr., who as a Moynihan aide had helped design the institute, reluctantly concluded that its "fundamental failings" were "characteristic of government but fatal for scholarship." He said that these failings, such as ideology and bureaucratization, "are not correctable either through another election or through another wholesale restructuring of the federal educational-research enterprise." And so he suggested that "It is time to abandon the National Institute of Education. The political, intellectual, and organizational ailments from which it has suffered since its inception . . . are incurable."

But Finn changed his views again in 1985, when President Reagan appointed him to run OERI. Soon afterward he drew up a plan to restructure his new domain, laying the groundwork to enlarge most of its programs—especially those of the "incurable" National Institute of Education.

So far, Finn's expansionism has succeeded: The proposed Reagan budget for 1987 increases OERI's research programs by more than 17 per cent. By contrast it cuts the National Institutes of Health, which subsidize real scientists rather than phony ones, by nearly 5 per cent.

Most of OERI's grantees claim the agency is a success and should get more money. Finn knows it is a failure, but says he needs more money to "fix" it. As long as Congress accepts either argument, education's secular priesthood will continue to flourish. □

**RICKENBACKER**

(Continued from page 45)

at the Miami airport; enough tiedown rings to secure the entire operating fleet of Eastern Air Lines for the duration of any hurricane that might chance to pass through; enough to get the message to any Machinists' shop boss who thought he had superior wisdom as to what portion of the passenger's dollar should be spent on that account; Dad won that battle; but where is Eastern?)

Perhaps we may divvy up the credit for Eastern's demise among the insiders and the outsiders. Dad was too much the prima donna—I don't think anyone will deny that. The result was fine as long as he could work seven days a week (and I type this at the desk he used, which still shows his sweat marks, for he worked summers in New York long before air conditioning was invented). When he withdrew, there was no team of understudies. Successors were imported from the outer fringes of life—Harvard, Wall Street, law firms. All would be well if competition would stay away.

And then Jack Kennedy, bless him, ratified my notion, and said, Let those birds fly free, and now the chickens are coming home to roost. For every sentimental reason in the world I am sad to see the distress of Eastern and all its family. But it was in the cards, and not because the cards were Fate. The cards were stacked. When you build a special privilege into law, you force-feed something that won't last. And when you repeal that law, you lie awake at night hearing shrieks. □


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## MARCOS: REFLECTIONS

*NEW YORK, MARCH 7*

CONCERNING the departure of President Marcos, a few observations:

1. One of the great scenes in history actually went out on live television. There was the prince, and there was his general. The general was saying: Look, sir, we've tried it your way. It simply isn't working. The mutineers are surrounded by civilians who are giving them a *cordon sanitaire*, and your troops are refusing to penetrate those civilian crowds in order to reach in there and arrest your traitorous defense minister and deputy chief of staff. Just give me the word: My bombers are ready to go. I'll fly right over them, and—you'll have two dead traitors. The prince says, No, no, that's no way to do it. Too many people will get killed. The general doesn't quite say it in as many words, but the meaning is clear: Screw the question how many people get killed, do you or do you not, sir, wish to continue as prince of this nation? The prince stares, sort of, into space.

What he does then is put in a call to a close associate of the President of the United States, and he says to him, Senator, does the President really want me to give up, to leave this country? The senator says, The President of the United States is not giving you orders. But if you want my advice, it is this: Get out while you can.

A few hours later, the prince is on a helicopter, with a very small fraction of his worldly goods, one gathers. There is nothing, curiously, more denigrated in the modern world than the dictator who does not quite have the stomach to use all the force necessary to stay in power. If the Shah of Iran had shown one-half the determination of the Ayatollah, the Ayatollah would have gone on to greener pastures a dozen years ago. Franco and Salazar paid no attention to foreign criticism: They just ruled their countries. Rather permissively, by the way. There was just that one rule: No one may exercise any political initiative. If Marcos had wanted to execute Aquino, he could have had him done in in Boston, rather than wait for so exploitable a melodrama as what happened on the tarmac of the airport at Manila. Marcos was deposed because, at the margin, he was soft.

2. In the past 72 hours, more stories have been passed about concerning Mrs. Marcos than in the past twenty years. We are told (by one lady) that Mrs. Marcos quite regularly seduced any attractive houseguest at the palace (which made this sometime houseguest feel very neglected). Someone else passed the word that she had accumulated the single largest collection of jewels in the world, which for all one knows may be true, and cause for grief to a few Texans, sheiks, and the Queen of England. Someone else informed us, quietly, that she had been accumulating a formidable private collection of art masterpieces, which presumably are in hiding somewhere. At least one hopes so, because the mob that overran the palace did the Jacobinical bit, even though they had been reminded by agents of Mrs. Aquino—President Aquino—that the palace was where the triumphant successor would now live, so that there was no point in making it uninhabitable. Among the adornments sacrificed, in that anarchic passion to smash (the phrase of Herbert Agar), were paintings. Some of them were paintings of the execrated Marcos and his wife. But there were others, and they too were sacrificed. The unsuccessful dictator suffers at many levels, among them what is rumored about him, with so much relish, with so much improvisatory zest.

3. Secretary of State Shultz is never better than when he is being absolutely firm in handling tendentious questioning. He said to the reporter, Yes, we would definitely give safe haven to Marcos. No, under no circumstances would we extradite him. For one thing there is no extradition treaty with the Philippines. For another (we were invited to assume), we made a deal with Marcos: Pull out, thus avoiding civil war, and we will reward you with personal security.

There is no question that Marcos was overwhelmed by his own failures, positive and negative. He failed to subdue the Philippine Vietcong; he failed to revive the economy, in stark contrast to the economic revival in other countries despotically governed (Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea). And he not only failed to curb graft, evidently he wallowed in it himself, and invited into the treasure rooms friends and relatives many of whom, toward the end, left him one final luxury, the luxury of betrayal.

One must hope and pray that President Aquino will launch the effective reforms Marcos was not able or willing to carry out. Whether she can, or will, is a question absolutely open. □

## DAVID STOCKMAN PREVIEWS HIS BOOK

*NEW YORK, MARCH 14*

DAVID STOCKMAN has given us a preview of what's in his forthcoming book, which had better be a lot, given that a publisher paid two and a half million bucks for it. But *Penthouse* has scooped it by publishing an article by author and columnist Donald Lambro. It was David Stockman, just before he left office last year, who solicited the interview. The article reveals that he was in a state of high frustration, and one can see why. His point is really quite simple, and quite simply disheartening. It is that the Republicans in Congress are the people who are preventing any serious effort to reduce federal spending. "The problem," he told Lambro, "is us."

"Stockman's Parting Shots" makes many interesting points, among them that the ratio of trade-off between the White House and Congress is approximately 10 to 1. What this means is that if the White House truly wants some money for purposes it deems important, and if those purposes don't satisfy any weighty congressional constituency, why the cost of getting that money is to give key congressmen about ten times as much for their pork-barrel projects, a term usually reserved to cover waterworks, bridges, whatever, but a term aptly invoked to describe any unnecessary federal expenditure, bills that are passed because congressmen want to ingratiate themselves in their districts.

An example of the 10 to 1 exchange? "There was a billion dollars' worth of domestic add-ons" tacked onto the 1984 supplemental appropriations bill in order to get $100 million for El Salvador. Foreign aid has always been big in the White House, which worries about foreign policy, but not particularly big in Congress, given that Third World countries don't vote in places like Nebraska. "We have an admin-



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istrator of AID who thinks it's a wonderful program, and so does George Shultz. And last year when we raised the thing [economic assistance] in our budget, $200 million to $300 million, it would have been more if I hadn't fought it internally." That budget is now about $12 billion.

Go to the other end of the scale, "subsidies for yacht and boat owners." "These big private yachters [should] pay if they want to get rescued, if they run out of gas." Stockman began by asking for $400 million in user fees, reduced his sights to $200 million the next year, to $60 million in 1984. In 1985 he had it down to $8 million: and couldn't get a Republican sponsor.

A billion-dollar bailout for the timber industry. "We opposed [this] as well as we could, but when the bill came down—the President signed it."

The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. "There's a lot of boondoggles in there, too many satellites, all kinds of ridiculous maritime research." Killed: Paul Laxalt wouldn't go along.

Farm programs. "Try that one out on [Nebraska GOP Congresswoman] Virginia Smith." So the home-economics courses and how-to-water-your-lawn pamphlets continue.

The Department of Education. The only good thing about the Department of Education is that William Bennett is the head of it. But who came around with a delegation to oppose cuts in a department that candidate Reagan had promised to eliminate? Mickey Edwards, then the head of the American Conservative Union, "who insisted on seeing the President. And the delegation . . . comprised other House Republicans, including Minnesota Representative Vin Weber and Representative Newt Gingrich of Georgia." Congress passed an $18-billion bill.

Military commissaries? "The Defense Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff would bleed more over [saving] that than they would the MX missile. . . . I kid you not . . . I'm not being hyperbolic. I'm telling you the straight truth. They would put more lobbying muscle into saving the commissaries than they would into saving the MX. . . . the Republicans, they're the worst. See, anybody who's got big military installations in their state will go bats, will go crazy. [Virginia Senators] Paul Trible, John Warner . . ."

Stockman's list is very long, including urban development, community development, export-import bank, energy research. His special complaint isn't that he found Democrats blocking his way: He expected that. But he found Republicans blocking the way of economy in government notwithstanding that their rhetoric is unchanged on the subject.

Stockman has odd views on taxation, to which he is entitled. But there is no questioning his own integrity on the matter of legislation. While in Congress from Michigan, he voted against the Chrysler bailout. Come to think of it, maybe that's why he left Congress. □

# NICARAGUA, ANOTHER VIETNAM

*NEW YORK, MARCH 10*

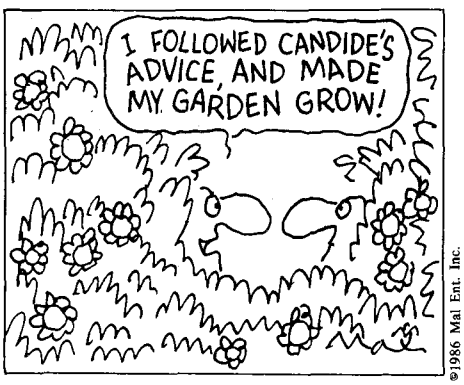
WHEN Ronald Reagan was running for President in 1980 he spoke every now and again of the "Vietnam syndrome." He meant by that the opportunistic use, by opponents of an aggressive anti-Soviet foreign policy, of the ghost of Vietnam in order to discourage, or to anathematize, projected action against Communist governments. That line of argument has been used extensively by opponents of American aid first to El Salvador, then to Nicaragua.

That was six years ago, and the expression continues. The problem for Mr. Reagan is that, in some respects, we deserve it. Anyone who wants to use Vietnam as an appropriate metaphor to describe our involvement in Nicaragua can do so justly. To settle for what we are now doing is to proceed in ignorance of American psychology. We are an achievement-oriented society, and American patience for ambiguous and extended campaigns is very short.

Last week the President found that the House Appropriations Committee would not vote $100 million to help the *Contras*. So he went to the House Armed Services Committee and got from it a favorable vote. But the outcome of the showdown, perhaps as early as this week, no one can safely predict. And, of course, the Republican Senate can veto the bill even if it passes in the Democratic House.

Here are the three basic contributions to the progressive disintegration of Mr. Reagan's anti-Sandinista enterprise:

1. We recognize the government of the Sandinistas as the government of Nicaragua. Why? It is not enough to say that the Sandinistas are the de facto governors of Nicaragua. Castro is the de facto governor of Cuba but we do not recognize his regime. It will forever confuse the American people at once to recognize a government, and then to seek overtly to overthrow it. We should long ago have rescinded our recognition of Nicaragua on the simple grounds that it has become an aggressor state against its neighbors, primarily El Salvador.




2. We have focused on a tertiary threat to peace and freedom, and when you do that, the vision becomes a little blurred. What happens in Nicaragua would not be geopolitically important except that it is an arm of Cuba. What happens in Cuba would not be geopolitically important except that it is an arm of the Soviet Union.

We can't deal with the Soviet Union over Nicaragua because it is too far distant, and the stakes, in dealing with the Soviets, overwhelm the stakes in dealing with Nicaragua. Accordingly, Cuba becomes the obvious target of our strategic concern. But we do nothing about Castro save to maintain the old economic boycott, and to decline official representation there. Meanwhile, Cuba arms the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and fuels their revolutionary spirit. But the United States can't legally interrupt the flow of arms from Cuba to Nicaragua for so long as we are at official peace with the Sandinista government. If we were at war with that government, a judicial avenue would open up, and we could do as we liked to press that war against the government, including a full blockade of its ports.

3. I do not believe in sending American troops to Central America, but I do not believe in saying there are no circumstances in which we would do so. Yet we hear this again and again, not merely from Ronald Reagan, but also from Mrs. Kirkpatrick. That reassurance is literally the only one the Sandinistas truly care about.

—And so, little by little, there is creeping U.S. boredom with Nicaragua, and an indisposition to genuine exertion to lance that boil on mainland North America. A young Princeton clergyman is interviewed in the alumni magazine, properly escorted by his portraitist. "The way [the Rev. Daniel Erdman] sits on the couch with his legs folded up beneath him makes him seem more like a Princeton graduate student than a Presbyterian pastor . . . To him, working for salvation here on earth, whether from disease and malnutrition or terror and repression, is even more important than preaching the gospel of salvation in heaven." Never mind that the founder of the Rev. Erdman's church didn't think anything of the sort when He preached that His Kingdom was not of this world. These are the types who are fanning out about the country and transforming public opinion. And they do well to talk about our involvement in Nicaragua as being another Vietnam. □

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## Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

W[ALTER] CUNNINGHAM:

*Space Is for Pros*

In some ways Christa McAuliffe was in the same situation as a spectator watching a shootout between the police and a robber. Her death was avoidable. Dick Scobee's and those of the others were not.



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# TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

## DEFINITIONS

A. Severe troubles — 98 73 112 88 48 145 38 1 117 148 / 23 13

B. This kind of scheme is rare! (hyph.) — 138 19 34 71 94 68 104 60 7

C. This bird misses a lot of the action — 25 30 41 84 102 16 133

D. Protective one—in the coop (2 words) — 37 91 49 62 111 140 120 82 10

E. An Oakland shortstop is this, even after being traded — 32 74 110 6 52 132 21 151

F. In order—especially at sea — 79 51 29 141 93 106 63 144 11

G. Cable offering — 99 81 22 114 155 5 59 121

H. Incumbent — 72 27 124 61 90 107 50 97 17 40

I. Meteorological device (2 words) — 126 76 134 20 2 146 113 64 129 44 / 54

J. The basis for Nazi ideology — 85 150 42 123 152 31 3 130 56 69 / 95 12 77

K. Ease up — 33 78 45 101 137 15 57

L. Elbow room—especially at sea — 24 65 142 4 115 128

M. Under the spell of the "love bug" — 53 89 135 119 18 39

N. Mean — 43 154 109 35 87 147

O. This kind of writer is never seen — 96 75 143 55 105

P. Author of *You Can't Get There from Here* (full name) — 122 83 36 8 149 103 127 46 66

Q. Good name for an overweight striped cat! — 80 153 26 47 116

R. Decayed — 14 136 92 108 67 131

S. Timely Beatles tune — 125 86 118 100 139 9 70 58 28

## DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 64 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 A | 2 I | 3 J | ■ | 4 L | 5 G | 6 E | 7 B | 8 P | 9 S | 10 D | 11 F | 12 J | 13 A | ■ |
| 14 R | 15 K | 16 C | 17 H | 18 M | 19 B | 20 I | 21 E | 22 G | 23 A | ■ | 24 L | 25 C | 26 Q | 27 H |
| 28 S | ■ | 29 F | 30 C | ■ | 31 J | 32 E | 33 K | 34 B | 35 N | 36 P | ■ | 37 D | 38 A | 39 M |
| 40 H | ■ | 41 C | 42 J | 43 N | 44 I | 45 K | 46 P | ■ | 47 Q | 48 A | 49 D | ■ | 50 H | 51 F |
| 52 E | ■ | 53 M | 54 I | 55 O | 56 J | ■ | 57 K | 58 S | 59 G | 60 B | ■ | 61 H | ■ | 62 D |
| 63 F | 64 I | 65 L | ■ | 66 P | 67 R | 68 B | 69 J | 70 S | ■ | 71 B | 72 H | 73 A | ■ | 74 E |
| 75 O | 76 I | 77 J | ■ | 78 K | 79 F | ■ | 80 Q | 81 G | 82 D | ■ | 83 P | 84 C | 85 J | 86 S |
| 87 N | ■ | 88 A | 89 M | 90 H | 91 D | 92 R | 93 F | ■ | 94 B | 95 J | 96 O | 97 H | 98 A | 99 G |
| ■ | 100S | 101K | 102C | 103P | 104B | ■ | 105O | 106F | 107H | 108R | ■ | 109N | 110E | 111D |
| 112A | 113I | ■ | 114G | 115L | 116Q | ■ | 117A | 118S | ■ | 119M | 120D | 121G | ■ | 122P |
| 123J | 124H | 125S | ■ | 126I | 127P | 128L | ■ | 129I | 130J | 131R | ■ | 132E | 133C | 134I |
| 135M | ■ | 136R | 137K | 138B | 139S | 140D | ■ | 141F | 142L | 143O | 144F | 145A | 146I | ■ |
| 147N | 148A | 149P | 150J | ■ | 151E | 152J | 153Q | 154N | 155G | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ | ■ |



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